# THE DATIVE OF AGENCY

## A Chapter of
## Indo-European Case-syntax

BY

ALEXANDER GREEN

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University


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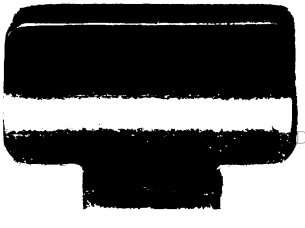

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CALVIN THOMAS.

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MATRI AC SORORI
SACRUM

# FOREWORD

Of the various functional types of the Dative in the several Indo-European languages no single one, whether original or acquired, has been given so little consideration or has been dismissed with so summary a treatment as that ordinarily designated as the Dative of Agency. Indifferently bandied about, but more commonly assigned to the original Indo-European Dative, as one of its natural developments, it has in grammatical works of all kinds come to assume the character of a colorless subspecies, to all intents and purposes long since tracked to its lair, duly identified and ticketed, with never a suspicion as to its complete make-up attaching to it. Delbrück, so far as I know, was the first[1] to indicate along the entire line of Indo-European case-studies an ultimate Instrumental origin for Datives of such function; but in the more recent of his works[2] he has contented himself with declaring the impossibility of a definite division between the two cases, as far as the inherited status of any given language is concerned, and is in fact tacitly in favor of relegating the whole usage to its old place under the Dative of Personal Interest. A lately published book giving a passing notice to the subject[3] even seeks to derive from the latter viewpoint additional support for its quite plausible theory of the development of certain Possessive Genitives from the use of Pronominal Datives; and tho manifestly a representation of a condition consequent upon the one here under discussion, it nevertheless is a significant index of the current conception of the Dative of Agency.

It has appeared to me that the full value of the construction could more easily be ascertained if it were not subsumed, as merely one of the many constituents, under the general division of the Dative of Personal Interest, nor therefore determined, for

[1] *Ablativ localis instrumentalis*, Berlin, 1867, p. 65 ff., and *Synt. Forsch.* IV. 60, 78.

[2] Cf. *Vgl. Synt.* I. 300, and *Synkretismus*, Strassburg, 1907, p. 173.

[3] Havers, *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der idg. Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1911.

example, from a far-fetched semasiological relation with certain forms expressive of possession, but rather brought in line, as once suggested by Delbrück, with those unmistakable employments of another case which not only harmonize thruout with its specific significative force, but also throw a more or less decisive light on much of its ultimate provenience. It was with this in view that I have undertaken, in this survey of the whole field of contention, to connect, wherever possible, into a vital relationship the auctorial function of the Dative with that of the Instrumental of which it is, in a number of Indo-European languages, the historical heir and representative. It has seemed that if any coalescence or even a contact was to be sought between our construction and any other, aiming at the syntactic location of the former, the analogous use of the old Instrumental was, if not the exclusive, at least the most logical one to resort to. That this idea in itself is not new, I need not repeat; but it is equally true that it has not yet received that comprehensive comparative investigation in the various available Indo-European languages which its relative importance would warrant.[1]

In attempting to secure for my subject a certain degree of completeness in treatment, I have not shrunk from rehearsing many otherwise well-known and firmly established facts of philology. A reconstructive essay, however favorably circumstanced with respect to illustrative matter, must still labor under a disadvantage in that it lacks the authentic actuality of the more tangible work. In the present case I have in addition been often confronted with that curious situation of comparative paucity of decisive instances which not infrequently robs the argument of its cogency. Many of the changes involved in the discussion must have taken place long prior to any literature we possess, and the remnants of even these earliest linguistic documents are lamentably few. The obvious necessity then of overcoming in the largest possible measure such unavoidable defects is the reason for what may appear to be prolixity.

A sufficiency of syntactic evidence, within such limitations, has been thruout my desire for the various periods and texts selected; at the same time I have purposely refrained from numerical tabu-

[1] Cf. *Vgl. Synt.* I. §§ 126, 143, and *Grundriss*[2], §§ 479, 491. Celtic, Armenian, and Albanian have been left out of consideration as much for apparent lack of germane material as for insufficient acquaintance with them.

lation as being but thankless drudgery in cases where the state of affairs it might illumine is satisfactorily established. In a large sense these pages do not aim at setting the stamp of finality on the problems under discussion from an entirely new point of view, so much as to indicate clearly where there is ample ground for a departure from the opinions still adhered to; nor has their purpose been the chimerical one of solving every riddle at all costs, but rather a definite arrangement, agreeably to the results of present-day scientific research, of whatever in this field at all lent itself to systematic exposition. The number of literary citations has thus been regulated with this particular usefulness in view.

One word more, in violation of the ancient injunction, "Nec debet prologus enormior esse quam fabula." That thruout the course of this work I have laid many writers under contribution will be fully evidenced by the footnotes. Besides such general acknowledgment, however, I wish to single out for special mention Brugmann and Delbrück as being those from whom I have derived the greatest assistance. I may here and there have taken issue with them on some otherwise hopeless questions, still they have given me not only the much-needed grounding, but, in a larger measure, that inspiration without which these pages could scarcely have been undertaken. My manifold shortcomings, it is needless to add, are the results purely of my comparatively short novitiate. Of those who have lent more immediate aid I am indebted in the first instance to Professor Arthur F. J. Remy for his kindly interest in all my work and for the helpful counsel which he has ever been ready to give. Sincere thanks are also due to Professors A. V. Williams Jackson, W. W. Lawrence, and E. H. Sturtevant for generously placing their expert knowledge at my disposal, and to Professor Gonzalez Lodge, besides, for the loan of books otherwise inaccessible. Finally, it affords me pleasure to thank Professor F. A. Wood of the University of Chicago for encouragement at the inception of this work and Dr. Louis H. Gray for valuable suggestions at its close.

ALEXANDER GREEN.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
July, 1913.

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# THE DATIVE OF AGENCY

## CHAPTER I

### The Concept of Agency and the Passive

§ 1. Delbrück's view of the fundamental meaning of the Nominative will form the point of departure in these remarks, which must of necessity precede a statement of the case. "In ihn trat ursprünglich, says he,[1] jedenfalls der als thätig gedachte, den Träger oder Mittelpunkt der Handlung bildende Substantivbegriff. Erst nachdem sich der passivische Ausdruck entwickelt hatte, konnte der Nom. auch zum leidenden Mittelpunkte der Handlung werden und erst auf dieses Stadium passt daher die Erklärung, dass der Nominativ den Gegenstand der Aussage, das grammatische Subjekt bezeichnet." A simple declarative such as *Fortes fortuna adiuvat* presents no difficulties whatever of analysis in languages where, as in the Indo-European family, we find a fully developed, subjectively conceived verb and, in connection with it, a clear concept of the subject and of the object as we understand them to-day. There exists a large number of non-Indo-European tongues which, lacking such a verb, cannot express the real subject in a manner natural to us. In the Malayan languages[2] the verbal expression appears with a possessival agent: '*your search*' stands for '*sought by you.*' Others again, like the Thibetan,[3] equally lacking finite verbs in a subjective sense, express this idea of the bearer of the action by means of a nominal basis for verb and an instrumental for agent: '*I strike you*' is put as '*your beating thru me.*'[4] Countless others endeavor to express the relation between the action and the ideal subject by producing forms that are almost pedantically specialized, in that they demonstrate how the bearer of the action, *i.e.* the agent, is acted upon, instead of

[1] *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 71. [2] Winkler, *Zur Sprachgeschichte*, p. 110.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 76. [4] Cf. also G. v. d. Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*[2], p. 102.

grasping the fact so elementary with us, viz. that the agent itself, as the real subject, is to be emphasized as the bearer of the idea designated by the sentence.[1]

§ 2. In one sense, however, sufficiently denoted perhaps as *terminological*, the Indo-European languages are equally deficient in clearness. The Nominative in them does not fully cover the idea of the subject of the action, and Pāṇini's unwillingness to conceive of it as *the* subject-case, — even tho due to an entirely non-germane reason,[2] — is nevertheless interesting in that the Nominative is not the exclusive subject-case. "Der Nominativ — according to Miklosich[3] — bezeichnet dasjenige, was die durch das verbum finitum ausgedrückte thätigkeit vollzieht, und das man minder genau mit einem der logik entlehnten ausdrucke subject nennt. Man sollte es, da man den ausdruck nicht entbehren kann, *grammatisches* subject nennen." The Nominative alone, as the form of the agent, is but a potential agent; the idea of the agent in the real, factual sense, as distinct and separate from a mere formal concept, the *logical* subject in short, is one whose designation for the science of language is by far the more important one.

§ 3. The grammatical and actual subjects may and often do coincide, but to regard them as equal without further ado is prohibited by the circumstance that the subject-nominative of passive constructions is bereft of all connotation of agency.[4] In such constructions the passive subject, the one acted upon, is the grammatical, the active the logical. The situation of the latter is as follows: The action of the subject affects some other person or object. This is Active construction. When, however, this person or object is raised to a subject in that we regard the action from the opposite point of view and turn our attention towards the origin instead of the end of the action, we obtain a Passive construction with a logical subject: *fortes ā fortunā adiuvantur*.[5] This logical subject need not necessarily be made known, as when we say '*a down-trodden race*,' or locutions like '*dicunt*, λέγουσιν, *man sagt*, *on dit*' in various languages; or, even if known, need not be expressed. Thus, whilst it is safe to assume that in ἀτιμάζεται the logical subject is ὁ ἀτιμά-

[1] Cf. Winkler, *ubi supra*, p. 137. [2] *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 64.

[3] *Vgl. Grammatik d. slav. Sprachen*, IV. 344.

[4] Cf. Rodenbusch, *Bemerkungen zur Satzlehre, 1. Die Agensform als Subjekt*, *IF*, 19, 254 ff.

[5] Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Gram.* IV. 3.

ζων, the latter may be left out altogether. This omission is particularly common with impersonal expressions.[1] On the basis, however, of a synoptic view of all available languages of the globe, H. v. d. Gabelentz[2] declares that the completely developed passive is that which is not only personal but has the nomen agentis as well made clear and definite.

§ 4. We have seen that logically there is no difference between the Active and the Passive; the contents remain essentially the same, tho the form be changed. Intrinsically, therefore, the Passive is a linguistic luxury, used for the sake of variety and color attained thru the change of subjects,[3] and one may well wonder with H. v. d. Gabelentz — Mauthner's characterization of it from the stylist's viewpoint as *barbarisch*[4] having its own interest — "dass so viele ganz verschiedene Sprachen sich in der Ausbildung einer solchen Form begegnen, für welche eine innere Nothwendigkeit nicht vorliegt."[5] It is the general opinion of philologists that the primitive Indo-European language (denoted hereafter as I-E.) had no especial form for the Passive; at least, with all the means of comparative philology at our command, it is difficult to prove the existence of one.[6] That, as far as the passive category went, the medial forms of the verb were employed in such a function, is, however, concluded on the combined testimony of Indo-Iranian, Greek, Germanic and Italo-Celtic. The medium designated that the subject was in some way attracted by the action into a sym-pathy, as λούω 'I wash,' but λούομαι 'I wash myself or part of my body,' τὰς χεῖρας for instance. All of these languages contain I-E. medial terminations in more or less modified forms and variety, Sanskrit, Avestan and Greek being nearest to the original forms, Italo-Celtic perhaps the farthest from them; the Balto-Slavic

[1] To which cf. Miklosich, *Vgl. Gr.* IV. 364, and *Denkschriften der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. XIV.

[2] *Über das Passivum*, p. 540 ff.

[3] De Sacy, *Grammaire générale*, Ch. II.

[4] *Krit. d. Sprache*, III. 254. [5] *Über das Passivum*, p. 455.

[6] For details of the short account given here of the Passive, cf. the following authorities: Delbrück, *Vgl. Synt.* II. p. 205 ff., 432 ff.; Thumb, p. 279 ff., 397 ff.; *Synt. Forschungen* (Delbrück), V. 228 ff.; Reichelt, p. 298; Brugmann, *Griech. Gr.*[3] p. 458 ff.; Hirt, p. 332 ff.; *Synt. Forsch.* IV. 67 ff.; Sommer, p. 507 ff., 527 ff.; Miklosich, IV. p. 264, 830 ff.; Vondrák, II. p. 183 ff.; Schleicher, p. 99, 303 ff.; Kurschat, p. 286, 294 ff.; Grimm, IV. 9 ff.; Streitberg, *Urg. Gram.* § 212, *Got. El.*[4] p. 137 ff.

cannot be considered at all in this connection, and of the Germanic only Gothic has a present-stem medio-passive category.

§ 5. Leaving aside the new formations in Sanskrit and Greek and, of course, all analytic substitutes such as in Germanic or Balto-Slavic,[1] the passive verbal forms of the Indo-European languages may be traced back to medial forms. The inference is that, to just such an extent, the passive must have functionally been deduced from the medium. Since, however, we find the perfect also used in a passive sense even in I-E. times, as witness Gk. *κέκληται* 'he is called' and Sk. *juhuré* 'they are poured,' and very early combined even with the doer of the '*fait accompli*' as Z 56 *πεποίηται . . . πρὸς Τρώων*, we must grant the perfect also its own share in the development of the passive. What interests us most, however, is the rôle played by verbal adjectives, such as Gk. *-τός*,

[1] The new Indo-Iranian passive in *-ya* from intransitives of the *i̯o* class is fully developed in Sanskrit, but has deteriorated in Avestan. In making use of the analytic expression Avestan requires *ah-* or *bav-* with the p.p.p, but Sanskrit regularly omits the copula as *tēna saraḥ samāsāditam* 'by him a pond was reached' — the highest imaginable development of the passive expression according to Gaedicke, *Akkusativ*, p. 42. — In Greek the competition of the act. aorist in *-θην* with the medial aorist in *-μην* (Homeric *ἐκτάθην* beside passival *ἐκτάμην*), resulting in the defeat of the latter, goes back to I-E. beginnings. Specifically Greek, however, is the use of the act. intr. forms in *-ην* in passive sense. — Since the Slavic medio-passive has disappeared, with the exception of the p.p.p. and remnants of the pres. p.p. in OBg. and Russian, the OBg. passive is expressed either by means of a newly formed medium reflexivum, *narečetъ sę κληθήσεται*, Mt. 5, 19, or periphrastically thru the present or preterite pass. part. and *byti*. Periphrastic Lithuanian regularly omits the auxiliary, employing simply the p.p.p., as *kardliaus siųstas* 'sent by the king.' — The new personal endings in Latin whose chief characteristic is *r* might be taken, together with their Celtic parallels, as related to certain active-medial 3rd pl. *r*-forms in Indo-Iranian, as Sk. *babhūv-ur* and Av. *bāḇv-are*, < *bhū*. (Sommer, p. 529; Zimmer in *KZ.* 30, 224; Pedersen, *KZ.* 40, 164.) — Outside of the defective medio-passives in Gothic and perhaps an isolated instance in ON. *heite*, 1st sg. pres. (cf. Sievers, *PBB.* 6, 561) there are no certain traces in Germanic of the I-E. endings. Germanic as a whole has adopted the periphrastic passive with **werþan* and **wesan*. Entirely new is the ON. reflexive formed, like in Balto-Slavic (cf. Lithuanian *vadìntis κέκληται*) and the Romance languages, of the active verb and the reflexive pronoun, *kallask* 'he is called.' According to the evidence of Greek and Sanskrit a similar formation must have been competing even with the I-E. medium. Cf. Gk. *ἀποκρύπτω ἐμαυτόν* beside *ἀποκρύπτομαι*, *Od.* ι, 160; Sk. *nêd ātmānaṃ vā pṛthivīṃ vā hiṃsāni* 'lest I injure either myself or the earth,' *Sat. Brāhm.* 1, 2, 4, 7; cf. also Bopp. *Vgl. Gr.* p. 1011; *S.F.* IV. 69 and *S.F.* V. 262.

Sk. *-tás*, in this process. Originally indifferent as to diathesis,[1] as intransitive *ῥυτός*, *srutás* but passive *πεπτός*, *paktás*, *coctus*, this perfect participle was especially well fitted to express passivity because while, as a participle, it denoted a being or object at rest, as a perfect tense it designated the attainment of a state or condition of affairs as well. It is not to be wondered at that we observe it not only forming the analytic passives with auxiliary verbs in Sanskrit, Avestan (cf. Greek *λελυμένος ὦ, εἴην* etc.), Balto-Slavic, Latin and all of the Germanic dialects, but also, since the earliest periods, appearing with expressions denoting the agency of the action.

§ 6. The force of the pass. pret. participles in *-to* and *-no* thus employed is variable. According to their origin they are both adjectives and verbals. It must here be emphasized for the Germanic that combined with auxiliaries they form a unit and are not felt exclusively as predicate adjectives, contrary to Grimm, IV. 717, but, by the very nature of the passive formation, are understood together with the verb as a verbal predicate, denoting no more a condition but an action.[2] This their verbal nature is borne out by the fact that when they are passives they can, like the finite passive verb, take the same case as the passive verb itself: *pītás*, *uktás*, *ὀρεκτός* are passives in force, only a construction like *pitṛ́bhir dattáḥ*, cf. *R V.* 10, 107, 1, no more exists in Homer.[3] But to denote possibility the p.p.p. shows its verbal character in that it may take an instrumental dative or a preposition to express the agency, N 323 *χαλκῷ τε ῥηκτὸς μεγάλοισί τε χερμαδίοισι*; so Φ 568, I 526, Γ 65. So, too, the Sk. verbal adjective in *-ya* is more verbal than adjectival, for it may be compounded with the same preposition as the verb to which it belongs, and in the passive may be combined with the instrumental of agency.[4] There is no doubt in my mind that the modern German use of such compound passives as '*ist — worden*,'[5] with their past participle strongly adjectival, has been largely responsible for the wholesale interpretation in similar vein of the older Germanic participles. A prepositionless *nomen agentis* of an ambiguous sort expressed with these younger passives would not, of course, admit of any other interpretation but that of a pure dative of personal interest with adjectives. The evidence of the

[1] Cf. also Brugmann, *IF*, V. 117 f.

[2] Cf. Köhler, *Germania*, XI. 287.

[3] *Grdr.*[1] IV. § 160, p. 484. [4] *S.F.* V. 396.

[5] 'Ich bin gebunden worden,' cf. Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, 3[1], § 76.

other allied languages shows, however, that for the older stages, at least, of the Germanic dialects such a viewpoint is decidedly one-sided and all but bears the stamp of purposeful isolation.

§ 7. In general, following one of the foremost authorities, a two-fold division may be established as to the syntactical relation of such *nomina agentis* to the passive verb, according to the mode of thinking of the various languages. They may conceive of the person or object either as causing the action or as sources from which the action originates. In the words of H. v. d. Gabelentz,[1] "da wo man das Verhältnis der Richtung, in welcher jede Thätigkeit sich äussert, überhaupt nur umgekehrt, also statt des Punktes, wovon sie ausgeht, den Punkt, wohin sie geht, zum Subject des Satzes erhoben hat, wird jener — das Nomen agentis — folgerichtig in einem Casus stehn, welcher der Frage *woher?* entspricht, und durch den Ablativ oder durch eine Präposition ausgedrückt werden, welcher die Bedeutung unseres *von* beiwohnt." Types of the Latin *ab*, Romance *de*, *da* etc. are meant, as well as similar usages in non-Indo-European tongues, such as the Hungarian, Tcheremiss, Chinese and various Australasian dialects.[2] "Wo aber das Nomen agentis bestimmter als die Handlung veranlassend, als wirkend oder thätig gedacht wird, da tritt an die Stelle des Ablativs der Instrumentalis oder eine denselben ausdrückende Präposition." These may be taken as the two comprehensive rules of agency to which there are numerous exceptions among the languages of the globe.[3]

§ 8. It will be noticed that v. d. Gabelentz narrows himself down to but two alternatives. This is just the *casus causae et controversiae*. Where are we to place the so-called Dative of Personal Agency which we find represented in so many of the Indo-European languages? How are examples such as the following to be construed?[4]

SANSKRIT: *sákhibhya ídyaḥ*[5] or
*prá mē pánthā dēvayā́nā ādṛśran*, *RV.* 7, 76, 2.

AVESTAN: *yesnyō vahmyō vīspəmāi aŋuhe astvaite*, *Yt.* 5, 1.
*yahmāi xšnūtō bavaiti*, *yahmāi ϑištō bavaiti*, *Yt.* 10, 87.

[1] *Über das Passivum*, p. 540.

[2] Cf. also Hübschmann, *Zur Casuslehre*, p. 124.

[3] For non-I-E. languages I again refer to Winkler, *Zur Sprachgeschichte*, p. 75 ff. et passim.

[4] Cf. *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 143 and *Grdr.*[2] II. § 491. [5] *S.F.* V. 396.

LATIN: *meditata mihi sunt omnia mea incommoda*, Ter. *Phorm.* 248.

*arcus subspiciunt, mortalibus quae perhibetur Iris.* Enn. *Ann.* 409.[1]

but especially

GREEK: τοσαῦτά μοι εἰρήσθω, Lys. 24, 4, and
δάμεν Ἕκτορι δίῳ, Σ 103.

as well as of the GERMANIC DIALECTS:

GOTHIC: *ei gaumjaindau mannam*, *Mt.* VI. 5, ὅπως ἂν φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις

*du saihvan im*, Mt. VI. 1, πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς

ANGLO-SAXON: *wearð ðá him inweardlice gelufod*, Aelfric's *Hom.*[2]

*fromcynne folde weorðeð þīne gefylled*, Caedm. *Gen.* 1765.

OLD NORSE: *Norðimbraland var mest byggt Nordmǫnnum*, *Fornm.* I. Ch. 15.

*vask þrimr verum vegin at húsi*, *Ghv.* 10[2].

§ 9. The general opinion held of these datives — the Germanic varieties have not yet been discussed in this relation — is that they are in and for themselves a mere subtype, "Abart,"[3] of the dative of personal interest. "Dieser Dativ ist natürlich ein Dativ der betheiligten Person, wirkt aber als Agens."[4] *Sákhibhya íḍyaḥ* thus really means 'to be praised *for* the friends'; that it manifests, besides the force of the dative, a strong auctorial self-assertion — we must render it '*by* the friends' — is to be attributed not to the dative but to its connection with the verbal noun which itself contains the idea of necessity.[5] So Brugmann,[6] "Dass die interessierte Person zugleich als Vollzieher der Handlung zu denken sei, ergab nur der Zusammenhang."

§ 10. It is not easy, however, consistently to extend this distinction with reference to all the instances and categories available in the above languages. There are certain well-defined examples which refuse even on the closest scrutiny to reveal a connotation

[1] The references thruout these pages are to R. Y. Tyrrell's edition of Terence, Oxf., 1902, and J. Vahlen's *Ennianae poesis reliquiae*, Lipsiae, 1903.

[2] Thorpe's ed. I. 1843: *Assumption of St. John*, l. 16.

[3] Landgraf in *Wölfflin's Archiv*, 8, 39.

[4] Delbrück, *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 143.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 297.

[6] *Grdr.*[2] II. § 491.

of *commodi or incommodi* whether inherent in the dative or induced by its connections.[1] A Ciceronian *dissimillimis bestiolis communiter cibus quaeritur, Deor. Nat.* II. 48, 128, may indeed admit of but one view, but, to keep to Latin and Cicero for the moment, already an example like *Tusc.* II. 4, 15 *est igitur ad hunc modum sermo ille nobis institutus* demands more than a casual glance for final disposition. Furthermore, how are we to distinguish between an oft-encountered *alicui iudicatum est* and *ad Att.* 8, 3, 7, *legionem Fausto conscriptam* where, in view of the context, one clearly cannot talk of a dative of interest, since Faustus raised the legion not for himself, but for Pompey. — So, too, in Greek, while there may be no difficulty at all about γ 138 τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι φίλη κεκλήσῃ ἄκοιτις and still less, once its bearings are defined, about Herod. 7, 168 οὔ σφι περιοπτέη ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπολλυμένη, can we translate N 168 δόρυ μακρόν, ὃ οἱ κλισίηφι λέλειπτο with Monro,[2] simply as 'which for him was left in the tent,' when the warrior who was the beneficiary of this act was also the very same Meriones who had left the spear behind? And is δ 177 ἀνάσσονται δ' ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ, where the 'interest'-element is clearly not in the agent, to be put in the same category with γ 138 above and its likes? Meeting with such examples in Greek literature, one must pause and inquire if they all should be classed as having an exclusively dativel connotation or whether, with due regard to the constituent elements of what we call the Greek 'dative,' we should not be permitted rather to fix our attention upon more logical sources, namely, upon the instrumental whose functions in Greek — to postpone the discussion of the Germanic features — have fused into those of the dative.

§ 11. Latin and Greek have been selected in the foregoing paragraph, because they typify the whole situation with respect to the Dative of Agency. In the one we find an instance where the functions of the Dative of the I-E. mother-tongue seem to have been preserved substantially uncontaminated. In the other, however,

[1] Right here, to avoid a misunderstanding, the remark must be appended that, where such datives fail to disclose the idea of advantage or disadvantage, it by no means follows that they could not have developed their apparently exclusively auctorial connotation from that of pure personal interest probably even before the dialectal separation of the Indo-European languages. This will be made clear in the succeeding chapters.

[2] *Grammar of the Homeric Dialect*, § 143, 5.

we can point to numerous traces of a usage, namely that of the Instrumental, which is essentially foreign to the Dative as we conceive of it at its inceptional stage. The problem that confronts us then is to investigate as far as possible to what extent we may in the leading Indo-European languages resolve into its constituent elements a usage common to two cases that are vitally different from one another but which have, in the course of linguistic development, met on several common grounds and have in a variable measure merged before historic times. Specifically, to find out in what languages the so-called Dative of Agency may be attributed exclusively to the expansion of the original Dative itself and in what instances it may be traced back to an original Instrumental function. To this end it will be necessary to discuss fully the force and use of both these cases.

## CHAPTER II

### The Force of the Dative and of the Instrumental

It must be remembered that we are in the dark as to how the eight I-E. form-groups, called cases, came to acquire their terminations, hence our comparative ignorance of their basic significations.[1]

**The Dative.** § 12. The fundamental meaning of the I-E. Dative, as far as we are justified in seeking for one, *i.e.* abstracting it from the various functional types we know,[2] is thus still a matter of controversy, and this entirely aside from the general character attributed to it in chronological sequence by Empiricists of the Sanctius school, Categorists of the Hermann type, and Logicians like Michelsen. The statements of these theorists are to-day merely of historic interest. For our purposes the beginning is made by the Localists. According to Hartung,[3] to whom the spatial relations natural to the human mind, viz. those of *Wherefrom? Where?* and *Whereto?* stood for the raison d'être of our oblique cases, the Dative was that which assumed the middle category of absolute rest and answered to the question *Where?* Fourteen years after him Rumpel[4] denied that the chief cases of the Indo-European languages served local relations and, as against his predecessor's mistaken attempt to transfer the laws of thought into the realm of speech, declared them to be purely grammatical. The Dative thus was designed simply to expand the pure sentence-matter, *Satzsubstanz*, represented by the union of subject and predicate, whenever it was desired to express the fact that the action denoted by such a 'substance' was for the benefit or disadvantage of some one. "Dies und nichts anderes

[1] Cf. *IF.* 17, 40 ff.

[2] "Was man gewöhnlich die Grundbedeutung oder den Grundbegriff der Kasus nennt, ist der Gebrauchsumfang, den sie in derjenigen Zeit der idg. Urgemeinschaft hatten, in die wir durch Vergleichung der verschiedenen idg. Sprachen miteinander zunächst zurückkommen." Brugmann, *Griech. Gr.*[3] p. 374.

[3] *Ueber die Casus, ihre Bildung und Bedeutung in der griechischen und lateinischen Sprache*, Erlangen, 1831.

[4] In his *Casuslehre in besonderer Beziehung auf die griechische Sprache*, Halle, 1845.

meint man mit dem bekannten Terminus, dass der Dativ die betheiligte Person bezeichne."[1] Rumpel arrived only at a half-truth because he based his investigations on Greek alone, but in the main his findings have not suffered radical revision.

§ 13. It is true that in his treatise *De usu dativi in carminibus Rigvedae*[2] Delbrück made out a presentable brief for the reconsideration of the Dative from the localistic point of view, insisting, however, that the question be altered from *Where?* to *Whereto?* and that the Dative be felt as a *casus finalis* denoting "die körperliche neigung nach etwas hin,"[3] but in his later works[4] he turned to the conception advocated by Hübschmann who, while in favor of the Dative as a final case because of its partly final uses, is nevertheless inclined to see in it a purely grammatical case of the indirect object "welchem die Aussage gilt."[5] The pivot of contention this time was the fact that the I-E. dative did not combine with prepositions, something which it would not have failed to do had it originally been a local case. Sanctius already realized this with respect to the Greek and, while Delbrück was the first[6] to extend this observation to Indo-European, he failed to draw the correct conclusion from it.[7] In accordance, however, with Hübschmann's reasoning, but especially because of Gaedicke,[8] he modified his former views even as to the Vedic dative.[9] As the Dative now stands, viewed not syncretistically in the form of its several constituents, but in its original force, it is the case of interest, overwhelmingly of personal interest.[10]

§ 14. There is to-day, at all events, an interesting recrudescence of localism. The arguments of Hirt,[11] supported as they are by the uses of the dative in Slavic,[12] are the more plausible since dative and locative seem to have originally been identical in form and differentiated only in accentual respect, as Sk. dat. *pitré*, loc. *pitári*,

[1] *Casuslehre in besonderer Beziehung auf die griechische Sprache*, p. 171.

[2] Halis, 1867; given in substance in *KZ.* 18 (1869), '*Ueber den indogermanischen, speciell den vedischen dativ.*'

[3] *KZ. ubi supra*, p. 100.

[4] First in *S.F.* IV. 53.

[5] *Zur Casuslehre*, p. 137, 213.

[6] *KZ.* 18, 106.

[7] Cf. also Pischel, *BB.* I. 111.

[8] *Über den Akkusativ im Veda*, Breslau, 1880, p. 137 ff.

[9] *Altindische Syntax*, *S.F.* V. 140.

[10] Cf. also Winkler, *Zur Sprachgeschichte*, p. 193 ff.; *Uralalt. Völker u. Sprach.* ad loc.; *Zur idg. Syntax*, p. 10 ff.; *Germanische Casussyntax*, p. 541.

[11] *Handbuch*, § 301, etc.

[12] Miklosich, *Vgl. Gr.* IV. 576.

the dative suffix *-ai* seems to be Vollstufe to the local *-i*, i.e. originally we have a dat. **pāterai* and a loc. **pātérai*.[1] That there is ample ground for a partial disagreement as to the Vedic dative is evidenced by Whitney;[2] Pischel[3] interprets it as a terminative case, Speyer[4] as both a "*Zu*" and a "*Für*"-case, Hopkins[5] as a case of direction. Solmsen[6] holds that the I-E. case-form called Dative must originally have had both the ending *-ĕi* and that of *-āi*, consequently it was probably a combination of two once sharply differentiated cases, namely that of interest and also of finality, *ibid.* p. 167. Brugmann himself[7] is not disinclined to a reversion in some details to the older view. For the Germanic cf. Dietrich in *HZ.* 13, 128, the Latin, Deecke in *Progr. Mühlhausen*, 1890, p. 31 f., and more recently Gustafsson, *De dativo Latino*, Helsingfors, 1904, based mostly on verbs of motion.

§ 15. A far graver charge to my mind, as far as fundamentals are concerned, is that the *Grundbegriff* given by Hübschmann may be somewhat too abstract for the beginnings of human language.[8] Even if we grant that extreme primitiveness as such cannot very well be attributed to the Indo-European linguistic unit immediately before its subdivision, still we feel obliged to second Mourek, in reviewing Delbrück's *Synkretismus*,[9] "Solche geistig höher stehende gründe sind für die urzeiten undenkbar, da muss man von roheren, äusserlicheren anschauungen ausgehen, und das ist die räumliche, von welcher man viel leichter zu der weiter entwickelten interessenauffassung gelangt als umgekehrt." So Sütterlin against an antilocalistic view in *Wesen der sprachlichen Gebilde*, Heidelb. 1902, p. 108.

§ 16. As far as the development of the function of agency is concerned, however, we are obliged to begin with that of interest. Granted, as above, that the latter was not a *Grundbegriff* but only a secondary and derived stage, it is quite an effort to connect interest with a local basis, — the easy interpretation of the dative as such

[1] For a dat. sg. **-ōi̯a²* cf. Bartholomae in *Sitzungsberichte*, 1910, 5 *der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.* and a résumé of it in *IFA.* 29, 40 ff.

[2] *AJP.* 13, 285. [3] *ubi supra.* [4] *VuSS.* 1896, p. 13.

[5] *TrAPA.* 37, 87 ff. and *JAOS.* 28, 360. [6] *KZ.* vol. 44, p. 161 ff.

[7] *Grdr.*² II. p. 474.

[8] Holzweissig, *Über den soc.-instr. Gebrauch des Dativs bei Homer*, Progr. Burg, 1885, p. 7.

[9] *Zs. f. d. Altert.* 38 (1908), p. 117.

a local case is made possible only where the idea of finality is already present in the verbal idea, otherwise it appears violently forced, — let alone the explanation of the *dativus ethicus* and the *dativus auctoris* from the same source;[1] these two types may be said to be the strongest proofs against the dative as a *Wohin*-case.[2] But from the *dativus commodi vel incommodi*[3] the *dativus auctoris* may easily be deduced as but one of the looser relations which the dative case bears to the predicate of the sentence, in that with passive verbals the person interested in the action may be the identical one who also performs the action. The sentence-substance would, indeed, be complete without such an addition, but once it is desired to denote clearly *for whom or at whose expense, advantage or detriment* something occurs, the dative of agency is the most natural to subjoin. Thus employed it is stronger than the fundamentally allied *dativus ethicus* (Buttmann) as when Horace, *Ep.* I. 3, 15, says, *Quid mihi Celsus agit?*, stronger even than a pure dative of interest. In Cic. *in Verr.* II. 8, 22 *Verres hunc hominem Veneri absolvit*, the action is to all intents and purposes the acquittal of the man; that this acquittal is on behalf of or in relation to Venus, is without the bounds of immediate consideration. Not so, however, Ter. *Phorm.* 2, 1, 18 *meditata mihi sunt omnia mea incommoda* where the dative is part of the warp and woof of the predicated substance and designates as much the person that has caused the action as the one who is a party interested therein. The construction in its purest form is reached in instances where the former concept is the sole and dominating one, as when Sallust writes, *Jug.* 107, 1 *saepe antea paucis strenuis advorsum multitudinem*

[1] Gaedicke, *op. cit.* p. 134.

[2] Of course, it is not absolutely impossible for the *dat. commodi* to have developed from a basic local relation, witness the following schemes, (a) **tibi venio*, (b) **adiutor tibi venio*, (c) *adiutor tibi sum*, or (a) **ἐλθεῖν τινι*, 'to or for one,' (b) id., 'for one,' (c) *ἀναστῆναι τινι*.

[3] Rumpel, *op. cit.* p. 286, acutely observed that this term is grammatically untenable: all that the dative expresses in this use is that something, be it a person or an object, is interested in the action, participates in it to such and such an extent, whether however to its advantage or disadvantage, is evidenced only by the context, not at all postulated by the grammatical form itself. So Hübschmann, *op. cit.* p. 71. The Greek *ἀναστῆναι τινι* is 'to rise,' but *τινί* itself does not indicate whether this rising is out of regard for some one or, indeed, against him as in anger. Cf. also the Latin Cic. *in Verr.* II. 8, 22, *Verres hunc hominem Veneri absolvit, sibi condemnat*, as expounded in Haase, *Vorlesungen*, II. 147. The term, however, is retained because of its convenience. *Vgl. Synt.* I. p. 296.

*bene pugnatum*, rendered clear by the identical construction in 114, 1 with *ab ducibus nostris*, or Virg. *Buc.* VI. 72 *ara quae maxima semper dicetur nobis*, i.e. λέγειν, or Propertius IV. 14, 41 *prata cruentantur Zetho*, about all of which anon. The fact stands clear that the *dat. commodi* has in it the potentialities of a development into a *dat. auctoris*. So much so that in all Indo-European languages a dat. of the person, even when it accompanies the nominative of a verbal substantive, is felt as the logical subject of the action: *mir ist sorge = ich sorge mich*, O. Lat. *quid tibi hanc tactio est = quid hanc tangis*, and similarly in Greek, Slavic and Sanskrit.[1]

**The Instrumental.** § 17. The Sanskrit Instrumental — and to the Sanskrit we continue to go back for our syntactical bearings — contains three distinct ideas, (*a*) prosecution, (*b*) association, (*c*) instrumentality. Schleicher assumed[2] for the original I-E. instrumental two entirely different suffixes, *-ā* and *-bhi*, cf. Gk. ἅμα, τάχα and Homeric *-φι* and *-φιν*, and accordingly postulated two originally even functionally differentiated cases, one expressing association, the other — tho he is unable to make a sharp line of demarcation — means or instrument.[3] This would indicate that originally the instrumental had a form distinct from that of the sociative, called also comitative. Since, however, Delbrück[4] disclosed the fact that the I-E. comitative functioned also as a prosecutive, practically all the subsequent investigators agree with him in attributing to the so-called Instrumental a primarily sociative force, with the idea of means or instrument proper as much of a logical derivative from this basic concept as the prosecutive for which there has been found or proposed no separate case-form. Those who reject these conclusions differ not in ascribing another primitive '*Grundbegriff*' to the instrumental but rather in refusing to attach to it any '*Grundbegriff*' whatever.

§ 18. A notable exception is Miklosich, who in a localistic manner derives all of the types in question from an original prosecutive,[5]

[1] Jolly, *Infinitiv*, p. 265. [2] *Compendium*[2], 577.

[3] This view of Schleicher's, doubted by Delbrück, *Vgl. Synt.* I. p. 184, note, would give us eight original I-E. cases without counting the vocative, a number which, tho greater than we accept to-day, is in turn less than the number demanded by Miklosich, *Vgl. Gr.* IV. 449; cf. Hübschmann, *op. cit.* p. 127, note.

[4] *ALI.* p. 53.

[5] "diejenigen Theile des Raumes oder der Zeit, über welche sich eine Handlung ununterbrochen erstreckt," *ALI.* p. 50.

"wie bei den übrigen casus, so gehe ich auch bei dem inst. von dessen räumlicher function aus."[1] As this is merely a theoretical point of difference and in no wise alters the fact that the instrumental is not original in its function of means, but owes its provenience to some other function, we will not here pause to discuss it, but merely point out the comparative difficulty of conceiving the prosecutive as this fountain-head.

§ 19. Pāṇini already[2] recognized, at least from the usage of Sanskrit, that the instrumental lends itself to the designation of the personal agent, in so far as it is not already included in the verb, just as well as to that of material instrument.[3] If the nominative expressed the sentence-substance as *dēvadattaḥ pacati*, 'D. is cooking,' the instrumental could put it as *dēvadattēna pacyatē taṇḍulaḥ*, 'rice is being cooked by D.'[4] In a word the *kartar* could be expressed by the same case as that which denoted the *karaṇa*, the tool or means, as well, *dātrēṇa lunāti* 'he cuts with the sickle.'[5] That these were connected with the sociative rendered by the same case, he indicates in II. 3, 19.[6]

§ 20. As to the theory of transitions, by extending the notions of concomitancy and accompaniment from spatial and even temporal considerations — case-forms must "von jeher der Darstellung äusserer, lokaler, temporaler oder sonstiger sinnlich anschaulicher Beziehungen gedient haben,"[7] — to more or less logical categories, we easily reach the inst. of means as that qualificative with which, in the company of which, the action takes place. The distinction is somewhat that between living beings and inanimate objects.[8] Consider, too, our English usage whereby '*with*,' originally merely associative — cf. Whitney's "*With*"-case — has developed into an instrumental preposition; similar is the connection between German '*mit*' and '*mittels*.' That persons as well as objects, inanimate

[1] *Vgl. Gr.* IV. 683. [2] Ed. Böthlingk, Leipzig, 1887. [3] I. 4, 50.

[4] In all that follows, the mention of the instrumental in such subjective function is always in connection with the passive construction. Excluded, therefore, are such uses of a subject-instrumental as occur in impersonal expressions in Avestan, Geldner, *KZ.* 31, 319 ff.; Slavic, Miklosich, *Vgl. Gr.* IV. 352, 692; and even Old Norse, Pedersen, *KZ.* 40, 138 ff., against whom cf. Neckel in *IF.* 21, 182 ff., where, however, the verb is active, as *Y.* 48, 1, *yesī adāiš aŝā druĵəm vīŋhaiŝī, podnimdlo Vaŝlija svjatỳm dûchom, lýstr vindinum ofan ì holit*, very much like the non-Indo-European expressions of agency indicated in Ch. I. § 1.

[5] I. 4, 42. [6] Cf. Hübschmann, *op. cit.* p. 143, note.

[7] *Grdr.*[2] II. § 451. [8] Giles, *Comp. Phil.* 269.

or personified, may also be thought of as instruments of action, *viśvaṃ sō agnē jayati tváyā dhānam*, 'thru thee, Agni'; and that this is quite as logically permissible in the passive as in the active construction and thus a *śásyátē kavíbhiḥ*, 'he is praised by the singers,' is but a natural step from *śásyátē vácōbhiḥ*, 'he is praised with, by words;' are so many corollaries to be expected from this circumstance.[1] So that the Instrumental of Agency with passives has its origin in the Inst. of Means with actives and, farther back, in the Inst. of Association.

§ 21. The instrumental with the passive — to neglect for the nonce the possibilities of *-tós* and of the medio-passive — does not, indeed, represent an original use, for the simple reason that the passive expression was not native to the I-E. language, but developed in its very essentials in the various branches into which the '*Ursprache*' broke up.[2] But even in this separate formation of passives, the thus appended instrumental of agency originally denoted mere concomitancy.[3] Thus when, for instance, the active intransitive verb which, in terms such as '*the house burns*,' does not represent the real causer of the occurrence, begins its course of development towards the passive by attaching to its grammatical subject the real subject of the action, this logical subject is, according to Indo-European custom, placed in the instrumental. The Greek aorist ἐδάμην signifies merely 'to be tame'; Πηλεΐωνι δαμείς, indeed, 'tamed, killed by P.,' but the latter is an extension of a purely sociative connection, "gestorben unter Mitwirkung des Peliden."[4]

§ 22. This instrumental of agency based on an older inst. of association and the dative of agency derived from an older dative of interest bear the following relation to each other: In Latin, aside from the prepositional phrases, only the dative is found expressing agency with passive constructions; in Sanskrit, however, as well as in Avestan, there is both a dative and an instrumental of agency; in Slavic, — Lithuanian employs the genitive, — on the other hand, the instrumental has been the choice; lastly, Greek and the Germanic dialects, so Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Norse, evidence a dative which partakes of both a dativa and an instrumental character. Save in the instance of these two doubtful branches, we are

[1] Delbrück, *S.F.* V. 135 and *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 123.
[2] Cf. Ch. I. § 4, and *Vgl. Synt.* I. p. 184.
[3] *S. F.* IV. p. 78. [4] Delbrück, *S.F.* IV. *ubi supra.*

reasonably certain of the interrelations and delimitations of the two means of agency along the whole line of Indo-European languages, and we shall later be in a position to follow up the various steps thru which Agency is reached from its two sources here considered. The amalgamation[1] of the dative with the instrumental in these languages next requires our attention.

[1] The term is found in Miles, *Comp. Syntax*, p. 31.

## CHAPTER III

### Syncretism of the Dative and of the Instrumental

**Syncretism in General.**[1] § 23. Since Bopp's investigations disclosed that the I-E. parent language must have possessed eight [1] well-defined case-forms, viz. nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, ablative, locative, instrumental and dative, with separate case-suffixes for all, save the vocative,[2] and the works of succeeding grammarians successfully postulated for each of the derived languages an originally identical number of cases, there have been queries as to why this number was reduced in the various I-E. dialects. Lassen[3] first drew the correct inference as regards Latin and Greek, "nämlich ausser den sechs Lateinischen einen Instrumentalis und einen Locativ." Weissenborn's review of Madvig a decade after was a distinct advance on this in that it declared that this locative and instrumental were really expressed in Greek and German by what was called the dative, and in the Latin by the ablative.[4] Omitting names like Jacobs[5] which spell retrogression, we meet with added confirmation in Pott who was also the first to apply the term 'syncretistic,'[6] and in Curtius,[7] who proposed the name '*Mischcasus*' in reference to case-forms and functions like the Latin ablative and the Greek dative. It remained for Delbrück to follow out these indications and, in reliance on Vedic Sanskrit, to set down the norm for the ultimate analysis of the I-E. syncre-

[1] A part of this sketch goes back in substance to Hübschmann, *Zur Casuslehre*, pp. 74–93, and Zieler, *Beiträge z. Geschichte d. Lat. Abl.* 1892, pp. 6–8.

[2] Cf. Brugmann, *Grdr.*[2] II. p. 474 ff.; for the opposite view that the number of cases was originally less than in Sanskrit, and that the specialization came about after the so-called dialectal scission, see Düntzer, *KZ.* XVII (1867). 53. Ludwig, *Agglutination oder Adoptation*, 1873, also subscribes to this system of accretion.

[3] *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 1834, II. 148.

[4] *Neue Jahrbücher f. Phil. u. Päd.* 1845, III. 341.

[5] *Zs. f. d. Gymnasialwesen*, 1847, II. 103.

[6] *Präpositionen*, 1859, p. 16.

[7] Cf. *Verhandlungen der 22 ten Versammlung deut. Philologen zu Meissen*, 1863, p. 49.

tistic cases. His *Ablativus localis instrumentalis im Altindischen, Lateinischen, Griechischen und Deutschen*, Berlin, 1867 answers the question as to origins, premising the fact that there had been no corresponding loss of case-functions to parallel that of the case-forms. Modified in some respects, the reply is thus tabulated by Hübschmann, p. 87 (cf. also *Vgl. Synt.* I. p. 189–199):

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I-E. | Dat. | Loc. | Inst. | Abl. | Gen. |
| Skt. | Dat. | Loc. | Inst. | Abl. of *A*-stems | Gen. |
| Lat. | Dat. | | Abl. | | Gen. |
| Gk. | | Dat. | | Gen. | |
| Gr. | | Dat. | | Gen. | |

From this it is evident that while in Vedic Sanskrit locative, inst. and abl. are separated, in Latin the ablative is the *Mischcasus: (a) gnaivod patred prognatus, (b) tota Asia vagatur, (c) manu fecit,* being all represented by it; but in Greek it is the dative that comprises the instrumental and locative functions as well, the genitive being the exclusive heir of the ablative[1]; in Germanic, too, the dative consists of the pure dative, plus locative, plus instrumental, and may in a manner be said to share the lost ablative with the genitive.[2]

§ 24. A short history of the etiology of syncretism follows. The first work of importance relative to it is the epoch-making *ALI.* of Delbrück. According to it[3] the reason for the reduction of case-forms must be assigned to **A) the competition of prepositions.** Their very being made the existence of case-forms precarious, in that their constant attachment to the latter expressed the desired idea with more exactitude than the bare forms. Attention to these would be in inverse ratio to the gradual importance of such prepositions as the more essential parts of the meaning, interchanges among the deteriorating case-forms would follow and the resulting fluctuation end in linguistic usage — *quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi* — deciding in favor of one or the other of the alternatives.

[1] Cf. the use of the prepositions ἀπό, κατά, παρά, πρός, and ὑπό c. gen. to denote the place or person from which something originates.

[2] For the latter statement cf. *Synkretismus*, Vorrede. [3] *ALI.* p. 77.

For the rest, we know that the increasing use of prepositions is in harmony with that tendency towards the analytic stage common to the Indo-European languages. Holzweissig,[1] following Penka,[2] belittles the destructive work of prepositions and insists that the chief cause of the loss of case-forms was **B) the force of sound and accentuation laws** maiming the terminations and giving rise to their interchange and disappearance. "An erster Stelle hat nicht der fliessende Charakter der Kasusunterschiede, sondern lautlicher Verfall das Entstehen von Mischkasus verursacht."[3] It is needless to point out that his stand is false.[4] Just as prepositions do not always replace the case-forms they may have helped to displace and, even tho necessary auxiliaries after case-fusions, they do not always deprive the case-form of significance — witness the Greek where it is often the case that determines the sense of the preposition —, and just as the use of prepositions *eo ipso* has not always sufficed to cause a confusion of cases, cf. the preservation of inst. and loc. in Slavic in the face of concurrent prepositions,[5] so syncretism may, indeed, take place as a result of phonetic changes, but it can come about without them and in a manner purely **C) syntactic**, as in the instance of the Italic inst. sg.[6] So others, we find, propose as an offset the confusing influence of coincidences in meaning, "auf éine Determination sind durch Metapher mehrere verwandte Beziehungsausdrücke übertragen."[7] There may be added to these the working of a principle of **D) linguistic economy** such as Lanman[8] proposes to account for the confusion of the Indic ablative plural with the dative. According to his view the number of occasions requiring the expression of plural ablative relations was so small that ultimately the ablative was deprived of a separate form and its function was added to that of the nearest infrequent case, the dative. This, while in itself perhaps insufficient to account for the mergence, is still interesting as one of the probable minor causes of syncretism.

§ 25. Our present views on syncretism stand at the junction of **B**) and **C**. Delbrück himself has abandoned prepositions as the

[1] *Wahrheit und Irrtum der lok. Kasustheorie*, pp. 19, 23, 69.
[2] *Die Entstehung der synkret. Casus*, Wien, 1874. [3] *ubi supra*, p. 69.
[4] Vogrinz, *Gedanken z. e. Gesch. des Kasussystems*, Prog. Leitmeritz, 1884, p. 17.
[5] Audouin, *De la déclinaison*, p. 423.
[6] Zieler, *op. cit.* p. 56. [7] Vogrinz, *ubi supra*.
[8] *On Noun-inflection in the Veda*, *JAOS.* X. 583 ff.

sole cause of case-amalgamation[1] and has, five years before Vogrinz, declared, at least in the instance of the Greek gen.-abl. for an outer and inner motive of syncretism.[2] We can therefore speak of *morphological* and *syntactical causes*, i.e. coincidence of form and approximation of meaning.[3] As to the relative merits of each, it would seem as if fusions due to phonetic alterations of final sounds had not had sufficient influence in the reduction of cases at least in Greek, Latin and Slavic.[4] Again, the syntactic equivalences which have contributed to such case-fusions seem to reach back to proethnic conditions, because their traces may be found in the most conservative I-E. languages. All we know with certainty is that all the languages did not syncretize the same way and, as we are dealing with prehistoric conditions, we must take to heart Delbrück's caution,[5] "Man muss sich auch in dieser Beziehung nicht vermessen wollen, das Gras wachsen zu hören."[6]

**The Dative and the Instrumental.** § 26. The process of amalgamation just described, in full force during the two linguistic periods, an older of eight-and-seven and a younger of six-and-five case-forms — *i.e.* if we are to give credence to *ALI.* pp. 1 and 75 — has left for the earliest stages of the dialects here considered the following relation between the dativa1 and instrumental functions: the Indo-Iranian languages have both a dative and an instrumental; similar is the condition of Balto-Slavic; Latin has a dative, but no instrumental form; in the Greek and the Germanic dialects the form serving as dative has assumed the instrumental functions as well.[7] It would lead us too far to set down — save for the last two branches, where they are of eminent importance — the various morphological and syntactical contacts that are still observable even in those languages which have preserved these two cases as separate. A careful survey of them, however, has brought us to the conclusion that, syntactically at least, certain approximations reach far beyond the earliest historical beginnings to definite proethnic I-E. conditions. The following *formulaic* reconstructions exemplified by actual facts will symbolize our meaning:

[1] Cf. *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 80. [2] *S.F.* IV. p. 50.
[3] Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.*[3] 375. [4] Audouin, *op. cit.* p. 423.
[5] *Vgl. Synt.* I. p. 199.
[6] Cf. also *Grdr.*[2] II. p. 479 ff.; *Vgl. Synt.* I. p. 189 ff.; and Zieler, *op. cit.* p. 57. [7] Cf. § 23.

Indo-European Instrumental and Dative met

(1) **With verbs and adjectives of association,**

(*a*) *tō u̯irō sequ̯etai — he follows this man: *Inst.* — *RV.* 2, 18, 2 *anyébhiḥ sacatē.*

*ek̂u̯ō(u) u̯og̑hō i̯un̑geti — he hitches two horses to [by means of] the wagon: *Inst.* — *RV.* 1, 164, 19 *dhurâ yuktâḥ.*

*udn̥ u̯oinōi meiksketi — he joins, pours water to wine: *Dat.* — Ov. *M.* 13, 866 *sic se tibi misceat.*

(*b*) *sm̥mos patrx,[1] deiu̯ō — he shows similarity with the father, with the god: *Inst.* — *RV.* 6, 48, 19 *samó dēvair.*

*sm̥mos pətrai, deiu̯ōi — similar to the father, to the god: *Dat.* — *Aen.* I. 589 *os umerosque deo similis.*

(2) **With verbs of ruling and commanding,**

*potḭetai teutāi, nr̥bhox — he rules over the city, the men: *Dat.* — Plaut. *Truc.* 831 *non uinum <uiris> moderari, sed uiri uino solent.*

*potḭetai teutām, a ̂grōis — he commands the city, the fields: *Inst.* — *RV.* 3, 54, 15 *índrō víśvair vīryaìḥ pátyamānaḥ.*

(3) **With verbs of rejoicing et similia,**

*u̯oinō, tu̯eqnobhx terpetai — he enjoys wine, rejoices in children: *Inst.* — *RV.* 7, 24, 1 *mamáddaṣ ca sómaiḥ.*

but *deiu̯oibhox, *Dat.*, he is favorably disposed towards the gods. — *Y.* 50, 5 *hyaṯ yūšmākāi maθrānē vaorāzaθā.*

(4) **With verbs of confiding,**

*qretesx bheidhetai — he is confident because of his strength: *Inst.* — Schleicher, 268 *nusitikêtis, dēvù* 'auf Gott vertrauen.'

Supr. 79, 6 *voinъ pъvajǫ svojejǫ silojǫ* 'miles suis viribus fidens.'

*sūneu̯ai bheidhetai — he confides in his son: *Dat.*[2] — Plaut. *Cap.* 536 *quid rebus confidam meis?*

[1] x = the final case-formans is uncertain.

[2] It must here be noted that the above formulas do not always aim at the reproduction of an actual usage. Thus **potḭetai nr̥bhox* is not intended to signify that **potḭetai* does ever take the dative; the phrase is merely a symbol of the fact that there *are* verbs of ruling and commanding connected with that case-form, cf. *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 133 and *Grdr.*[2] II. § 488, 5.

Other connections are less certain, in that their ascription to what still must be called the Indo-European language is not warranted from sufficiently extensive or conclusive usages. Those enumerated, however, are satisfactory enough to serve as criteria for these languages, Greek and Germanic, where owing to but one given case-form we might otherwise be led astray.

§ 27. **Greek.** For a morphological account of the fusion between the dative and the instrumental I refer to Audouin, *Déclinaison*, p. 234 ff. and Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.*[3] §§ 260, 434$_{1,5}$, 477. In Greek the instrumental fused with the dative in the singular, the two cases having already been similar in form in the 1st and 2d declension. The ῳ in λύκῳ stands for $*\bar{o}i < *\text{-}o + ai$.[1] As to the plural λύκοις, it is an instrumental form — $*\text{-}o + ais > \bar{o}is$, cf. Sk. *vṛkāiṣ*, Av. *vehrkāiš*, Lith. *vilkaīs* with instrumental signification[2] — the other datives in σι, οισι, etc. are locatives. — The *Grundbedeutung* of -φιν is difficult to determine etymologically. In Sk. we have *-bhis* inst. pl., *-bhyas* abl. and dat. pl., *-bhyām*, inst. abl. dat. dual, *-bhyam* for dat. sg. and pl. of first and second person pronouns. Then Lat. *ti-bi*, *i-bi* etc. must be connected with it. If Sk. *bhi-s* and Balto-Slavic *-mi* be equated, then Gk. -φι(ν) is instrumental in form. Syntactically, it is, besides, loc. abl. gen.,[3] but also dative, cf. Homeric ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγῃ, B 363.

§ 28. (1). **Verbs of association**, like ἕπεσθαι, μιγνύναι, ζευγνύναι, μάχεσθαι etc. "govern" a dative which may be a representative of an older datival,[4] nay sometimes even locatival use.[5] However the force of the inst. of soc.-com. is still preserved in Homer and after him wherever we observe σύν or ἅμα employed with the instrumental, as ι 173, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σὺν νηί τ' ἐμῇ καὶ ἑμοῖς ἑτάροισιν ἐλθὼν τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν πειρήσομαι; cf. too B 534 ἕπεσθαι (Sanskrit *sac*) ἅμα τινί. So verbs compounded with σύν could take the dative in both significations. Xen. *Mem.* 4, 3, 12. τὸ . . . αὐτούς ἡμῖν συνεργεῖν may mean both 'the fact that the gods work with us' and ' . . . help us.'[6] —

[1] The I-E. dat. sg. suffix was *-ai*, if we may judge from the form of the dat. of consonant stems, like Gk. *ἴδμεν-αι*, Sk. *vidmán-ē*. Meillet, *De quelques innovations de la déc. latine*, Par. 1906, p. 35, prefers to think it was *-ei*, because of Oscan *Fuutreí*, *Patereí* and Lat. *ovī*, *hominī*, *patrī* etc., but Brugmann, *Grdr.*[2] II. §§ 162, 163, believes that the Oscan is itself an innovation or possibly a locative form.

[2] Hirt, *Handbuch*, p. 244.

[3] Hirt, *ubi sup.*, § 304; *Grdr.*[2] § 113, 3.

[4] *S.F.* IV. 59.

[5] *Vgl. Synt.* I. p. 247.

[6] Audouin, *op. cit.* p. 240; *Grdr.*[2] II, § 482.

The testimony of Sanskrit is in favor of such a twofold division:[1] whereas *yuj*, *yat*, *krīḍ*, *yudh*, *spardh*, and *hās* are connected solely with the instrumental[2] *sac*, *miśrá*, *miśray*, *myakṣ* and *mikṣ* admit of the dative also. So *RV.* 4, 48, 10, *ṛdūdárēṇa sákhyā sacchya* 'I would join the mild friend,' is the regular construction, *i.e.* the instrumental.[3] But according to Bergaigne,[4] "L'objet auquel le sujet ou le régime direct du verbe est mêlé, uni, est construit, tantôt à l'instrumental, I. 22, 3; 34, 3 etc., tantôt à locatif, VI. 29, 2; X. 96, 3, ou même au datif, X. 104, 2, cf. VI. 29, 3." This applies especially to the verbs *myakṣ*, *mikṣ* and *miśrá*.[5] In the case of marital relations in Greek we surely have to do with the instrumental, cf. *RV.* 10, 10, 8, *anyéna mád āhanō yāhi tūyam;* similarly Latin, Lucr. 4, 1247, *admiscetur muliebri semine semen.*[6] So OBg. *oženiti sę*, 'to marry [with] some one,' as Mk. 6, 17, *jako oženi sę jejǫ* ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐγάμησεν.[7] The Slavic also resorts to the inst. with verbs denoting association, *angelomъ retitъ* 'cum angelo rixantur,' but also the dative, OBg. *drugъ drugu retętъ*, 'inter se rixantur.'[8] These usages may aid us in clearing up the obscurity of the Greek forms.

§ 29. In the instance of the allied concept of similarity, such as ἔοικα, ἰσόω, εἰκάζω and adjectives like ἴσος, ὅμοιος, εἴκελος, ἀτάλαντος we can speak of both a real dative in its adverbal and of an inst. in its soc.-com. sense, as the German 'gleich *mit* etwas.'[9] The dative is used in Latin with *similis*, in OBg. with *tъčьnъ*, *podobьnъ*, on the other hand Sanskrit *samá* and *tulya*, which is probably the same as ἀτάλαντος, govern the instrumental, *tēna tulyaḥ*, 'similar to him,' Manu 4, 86. Avestan *hazaoša* and *hadam* only with instrumental.[10] Cf. also Gothic *ƕe nu galeiko þans mans* Lk. 7, 31 and OHG. *iz ist gilīh filu thiu*, Otfr. 2, 14, 90.

§ 30. (2). As to the **verbs of commanding**, we have a third competitor in the locative which is already seen in the oldest periods whenever it is a question of a 'crowd in which or over which' one commands.[11] The Homeric dative accompanying verbs like

[1] Cf. *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 110, and Wenzel, *Instrumentalis*, p. 29.
[2] *S.F.* V. 131. [3] Wenzel, *ubi supra*, p. 29.
[4] *La Religion Védique*, II. 261, 263 footnote.
[5] Latin *miscere* has inst.-abl., Ebrard, *de ablativi . . . usu*, p. 26.
[6] *ALI.* p. 55. [7] Miklosich, *Vgl. Gr.* IV. 723.
[8] Miklosich, *op. cit.* p. 597. [9] Cf. *Vgl. Synt.* I. §§ 110 and 124.
[10] *Grdr.*[2] II. § 485 a. [11] *ALI.* p. 38.

ἀνάσσω, κρατέω, ἄρχω instead of the genitive, as Δ 61, πᾶσι μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσεις, may be considered a locative.[1] For an instrumental we have in Vedic Sanskrit *pátyatē*, *RV.* 3, 54, 15, *índrō víśvair vīryàiḥ pátyamānaḥ* 'Indra who rules over all powers heroic.'[2] The Slavic conceives of the object ruled over as the means whereby the sovereignty is expressed, so OBg. *vlasti Syrijejǫ* ἄρχειν τῆς Συρίας[3] but it allows also of the dative as in the German 'jemandem befehlen,' especially in the later sources, *česarьstvująštu Dekiju rimьstěi vlasti*, Supr. 132, 3.[4] Latin is also divided: we say *imperare, moderare alicui* and, in Plautus, even *temperare linguae*, but *potiri aliquo*, as the Plautian *si ille hodie illa sit potitus muliere*, originally probably prosecutive as 'to be master over something, über etwas hin.' "Ingleichen, says Brugmann for the Greek,[5] lässt sich nicht mehr wissen, wie man τοῖσι in Homer. τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε u. dgl. empfand. Dass auch Ausdrücke wie ἐνὶ Τρώεσσ' ἀγορεύων, Ξ 45, ἐν δ' ὑμῖν ἐρέω, I 528, vorkommen, entscheidet ebenso wenig für den Lok., wie der Umstand, dass ἄρχειν 'Führer sein' mit ἔν τισι nicht vorkommt, für den Inst. den Ausschlag gibt."[6]

§ 31. (3). **Verbs of rejoicing**, etc. In *RV. kan, mad, bhuj, jīv* and sometimes *tarp* 'govern' an instrumental,[7] so 5, 3, 10 *agníḥ dēvásya sáhasā cakānáḥ*, 'rejoicing in his divine power.' The verbal concept 'to be gracious to' is regularly dativa1; so *RV.* 8, 93, 27 *stōtṛbhya indra mṛḷaya*, 'sei den Sängern hold,'[8] [*mṛḍ, RV.*: *mṛḷ*], just like Latin *favere, gratificari, gratulari, ignoscere, indulgere, blandiri alicui*,[9] and Avestan *mərəždā-* and *urvāz-*, *Y.* 50, 5. *hyaṭ yūšmākāi maθrānē vaorāzaθā*, 'since you are well disposed towards your prophet,'[10] as against *āvōya dāθrəm daδāiti yeδhe dāθrahe dāiti nōiṭ havō urva vāurāza* 'wenn nicht seine Seele über

[1] *S.F.* IV. 56. — This syntactic fusion of the Dat. Loc. and Inst. would, of course, be much furthered by formal resemblances, viz. that of the dat. *-ōi* and loc. *-oi* before consonant, on the one hand, and the inst. pl. **-ωις* and loc. *-οισί*, on the other, into **-ωις* > οις and *-οισι* > οισ' before vowels. To the latter cf. *Gr. Gr.*[3] § 434, 5.

[2] *S.F.* V. 133; Wenzel, *op. cit.* p. 79.

[3] Miklosich, IV. 700; Vondrák, II. 348.

[4] Vondrák, II. 359; Miklosich, IV. 584; *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 133.

[5] *Gr. Gr.*[3] § 462, 2.

[6] Of interest is Hungarian: *birni valamivel* 'to have power over something.'

[7] Wenzel, *op. cit.* p. 81 ff.

[8] Cf. Grassmann, *Wb.* p. 1058.

[9] Draeger, *Historische Syntax*, I. 403.

[10] Reichelt, p. 240.

das Almosengeben froh ist.'[1] Possibly the dative is used with the Slavic *radovati sę* 'to rejoice' and *čuditi, diviti sę* 'to wonder,' as *ne divite sę semu* μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο Jh. 5, 28.[2] The choice of Lithuanian is the causal instrumental, *dėdė pasigerėjo taĩs vaikáczais* 'the uncle had his pleasure in the youth.'[3] Similarly, with the Greek[4] verbs χαίρω, τέρπομαι the instrumental of cause must be the first to be thought of, [τέρπομαι ~ Sk. *tarp*] as in τέρπεσθαι δίσκοισιν, like Lat. *gaudere aliqua re;* but with personal names in the dative we may sometimes see beyond the stage of 'on account or thru whom.' So cf. Ψ 556 χαίρων Ἀντιλόχῳ, γ 52 ἀνδρί which might rather be correlated with expressions like ἐπαινέω, 'to praise,' with the Homeric Ἕκτορι or, Meisterhans[2] 172 *Attic Iscc.*, τῷ δήμῳ. I omit the locatival competition as in ξ 245 τεταρπόμενος τεκέεσσιν.

§ 32. (4). **Verbs of trusting and confiding.** Delbrück[5] cannot find a criterion for separating the dat. and the instrumental; but with regard to instances with -φι(ν) Audouin decides in favor of a causal interpretation 'thanks to which, as a result of which one has confidence,'[6] M 135 χείρεσσι πεποιθότες ἠδὲ βίηφιν, unless, indeed, a locatival view is preferred, cf. Δ 303. But with a person the dative is rather to be understood, as 'towards whom one has confidence,' π 97 κασιγνήτοις οἷσιπερ ἀνὴρ πέποιθε 'in whom a man places trust.' So, indeed, Avestan *frā ṯē vərənē ahē daēnaya*, 'I trust in your law, I profess your law,' *Vsp.* 53,[7] instrumental; but Sk. *śraddhā*, Lat. *credo*, Lith. *vėryti*, OBg. *věrovati* all have personal datives connected with them.[8] So *RV.* 2, 12, 5, *śrád asmai dhatta*, 'believes him.'

The same comparative features may be employed to decide some moot questions in the similarly syncretized Germanic dialects.

§ 33. **The Germanic Dialects.** For a morphological account of the fusion of the dative and instrumental I refer to Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik*, p. 223 ff.; Loewe, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 75 ff.; Dieter, *Laut- und Formenlehre*, p. 534 ff.; Kahle, *Zur Entwicklung der consonantischen Declination in Germa-*

[1] *Grdr.*[2] II. § 483 c.

[2] Vondrák, II. 362; for the inst. with the adj. *dovolьnъ* 'contented' cf. *ibid.* p. 350.

[3] Schleicher, *Lesebuch*, p. 126. apud *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 115.

[4] *Gr. Gr.*[8] § 460; *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 115 versus *ALI.* p. 38.

[5] *Vgl. Synt.* I. p. 255.

[6] Cf. Audouin, p. 238, and Walther, *de dativi instrumentalis usu Homerico*, p. 49.

[7] Hübschmann, *Zur Casuslehre*, p. 261. [8] *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 132.

*nischen*, Berlin, 1887, and, of course, to *Grundriss*,[2] Vol. II, under the various stems. In the Germanic dialects what is functionally called the 'dative' is nothing but an instrumental form in the plural[1] and partly locative, partly instrumental in the singular.[2] The confusion of the dative and the instrumental can best be studied in the Westgermanic dialects, since Gothic has only the pronominal inst. *þve* and *þe*, and Old Norse forms that are syntactically worthless; as it is, the two case-forms had already been firmly welded together in Pregermanic.

§ 34. In all likelihood it was the instrumental and the locative that first became merged, and later on the dative,[3] and in this process the *-o* stems are given credit for the ultimate cause of the transformation.[4] The oldest authentic endings used to denote the Westgermanic instrumental function are *-i* or *-u*. The latter, the choice of OHG. and OS., altho traces of it occur in Ags., too, according to Sievers, *Ags. Gramm.* § 242, may go back to a form of the I-E. inst. in *-ō*.[5] The former, retained by Ags., really is a Pregermanic *-ī* < I-E. *-ei*, a locative.[6] In Ags. therefore we must first conceive of a clash between the forms inst. *-u* and loc. *-i*. The victory of the latter in finally assuming both functions is probably due to syntactical reasons, as with expressions denoting transportation where either means or place would be admissible, *faran skipu* or *skipi*, an otherwise genuinely I-E. alternative; perhaps also in temporal relations, *dægu* or *dægi*. This change would leave an inst. (loc.) *-i* pitted against a dative form in *-e* [old Ags. *æ*

[1] The oldest 'dat.' pl. of the *-o* stems is *-ms*. Iscc. *Vatvims*, *Aflims*, *HZ*. 31, 354 ff. The vowel between the two consonants was probably *-i*. Cf. Streitberg, *U.G.*, p. 232, 4; therefore the ending is instrumental. Cf. Lith. *rañko-mis*, this form having been adopted instead of the I-E. inst. pl. of *-o* stems, viz. *-ōis* as ἵπποις.

[2] Cf. Wood, *Übersichtstabellen zu Lautentsprechungen und zur Kasusbildung des Nomens und Adjektivs im Germanischen*, Chicago; Dieter, *Laut- und Formenlehre*, p. 537, and Brugmann, *Grdr.*[2] II. p. 280 ff.

[3] Altho cf. *Grdr.*[2] II. p. 492, "der Inst. war auf dem ganzen germ. Sprach gebiet das zuletzt hinzugekommene Stück des Mischkasus," based on the circumstance that we still have remnants of it in Westgermanic.

[4] *Synkretismus*, p. 232; Loewe, p. 76.

[5] Streitberg, *U.G.* p. 228; cf. Lith. *gerù*.

[6] Cf. Sievers in *PBB.* VIII. 324 f., where he proves from the Epinal Glosses of the early 8th century that the *-i* ending is older than *-e*; but *Vgl. Synt.* I. p. 195, footnote, "es sei mir die Frage gestattet, ob in ihm nicht vielleicht die Fortsetzung eines idg. Inst. auf *-ē* anzuerkennen sei."

< Pregerm. *-ai* monophthongized[1] < I-E. *ōi*, as Sk. *-āi*, Gk. *-ῳ*, Lat. *-ōi*, Osk. *-úí*, Lith. *-uĩ*]; the phonetic transformation *-i* > *-e* finally resulted in an *-e* case, the common inheritor of the functions of the inst., loc., and dat., in the same way as the **-miz* > *-m* form had functioned since Pregermanic times.[2] — In OHG. and OS. the *-u* form is the one used without preposition; the *-e* form which is found in addition to *-u*, and is used with prepositions, is the survival of the locative we have met in Ags.[3] The ultimate disappearance of *-u* is due probably to prepositional competition weakening the force of the case-forms.

§ 35. What must be noted in this confusion is the circumstance that the process was purely formal: one form served at the same time for several functional types well differentiated in the consciousness of the speaker, as Latin dat.-abl. *-bus*. So that the German dative of to-day is in function essentially the I-E. dative; only when it is preceded by a preposition do we deal with other functions in it. "Hätte eine innerliche Absorption des instrumentalen Gebietes durch den Dat. stattgefunden, so würde der heutige Dat. auch im instrumentalen Sinne verwendet werden."[4]

§ 36. The four types of dative-instrumental fusion discussed under Greek, cf. §§ 28–32, might thus be given for the Germanic, making use of the identical criteria as far as applicable:

(1) **Verbs and adjectives of association.** The original form of the instrumental is preserved in Gothic, Lk. 7, 31, *ƕe nu galeiko þans mans þis kunþis jah ƕe sijaina galeikai* τίνι οὖν ὁμοιώσω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης, καὶ τίνι εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι; which decides at once about Mt. 7, 24, *galeiko ina waira frodamma* ὁμοιώσω αὐτὸν ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ and Lk. 6, 47, *ƕamma galeiks ist* τίνι ἐστὶν ὅμοιος; so the instrumental form in OHG. *iz ist gilih filu thiu*, Otfr. 2, 14, 90. With verbs of meeting, when it is a question of persons, the dative is likely to be original;[5] so *blandan: ni blandaiþ izwis horam* μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι πόρνοις, perhaps also Ags. *mengan*, but we clearly have an instrumental in *hrim and snaw hagle gemenged*, 'mingled with hail,' Wand. 48, just as *gamainjan* takes the inst. of the thing, 1 Cor. 10, 18. *niu þai matjandans hunsla gamainjandans hunslastada sind* κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυμαστηρίου εἰσὶν. On the other hand *gamains* must be construed with the real dative,

[1] Cf. Streitberg, *ubi supra*, p. 228. [2] Cf. *Synkretismus*, pp. 152, 163, 235.
[3] Moller, *Ueber den Instrumentalis im Heliand*, Danzig, 1874, p. 14.
[4] *Synkretismus*, p. 167. [5] *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 110.

Rom. 11, 17, *þizai waurtai* συγκοινωνὸς τῆς ῥίζης.[1] For verbs relative to social relations, like *liugan, gahorinon* and *gasibjon*, both inst. and dat. are conceivable; cf. for the former Sk. *RV.* 10, 10, 8 and Lat. Lucret. 4, 1247, for the latter Slavic *ěko oženi sę eja* ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐγάμησεν Mk. 6, 17.[2]

(2) In spite of Köhler[3] **verbs of commanding** do not all take datives. Thus, in the instance of Ags. *þy rice rædan* we deal clearly with an instrumental, a circumstance which, in turn, admits of conjecture relative to the force of the case-form with ON. *rāþa*, as in *einn skal rāþa Geirrøþar sunr Gotna lande*, Grm. 2, or in *Alfr mon sigre ǫllom rāþa* HHv. 39. In a similar manner Ags. *he sceal þy wonge wealdan*, Gū. 674, and OS. *so muosta siu mid iro brudigumen bodlu giuualdan*, Hel. 509, might be employed in the proper placing of ON. *valda veom*, Grm. 13, and Got. *waldan garda* οἰκοδεσποτεῖν.[4]

(3) The question as to whether the dat.-inst. with **verbs of rejoicing** is a real dat. or a real inst. is doubtful. Sanskrit and Slavic indications towards the former (cf. § 31) are scouted by Delbrück, who does not believe that they represent older usages.[5] Otherwise Erdmann-Mensing, p. 245; Winkler, *Germ. Cas.* p. 4 ff. and 30 ff. For Gothic *gaþlaihan, kukjan* and the like cf. Streitberg, *Got. El.* § 248; Bernhardt, § 154, and Köhler, *Germania*, XI, 270 ff.

(4) **Verbs of confiding.** The person or object trusted in or believed is in the dative, ON. *ek munda þer þá trua*, Hrbl. 96; Got. *gatrauands ufhauseinai þeinai* πεποιθὼς τῇ ὑπακοῇ σου; Otfr. 4, 35, *thes giloubi thu mir*, altho there seems to be at least one instance of instrumental competition, OS. *that erl thuru untreuua oðres ni uuili uuordu giloðean*, Hel. 1527, unless one adopts Delbrück's translation,[6] "dass ein Mann wegen der [allgemein verbreiteten] Treulosigkeit nicht auf das blosse Wort eines anderen hin [diesem] glauben will." The Indo-European similarities are cited under Greek, § 32.

§ 37. Sufficient evidence, it is hoped, has been submitted to prove an active and comparatively extensive interrelation between the dative and the instrumental. These interrelations, caused partly by early formal coincidences, partly due to semasiological approximations, could easily be discerned because of the similar

[1] *Synkretismus*, pp. 35, 132.
[2] Vondrák, II. 345.
[3] *Germania* XI, 267 ff.
[4] Cf. Bernhardt, *Zs. f. d. Phil.* XIII, 15.
[5] *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 115.
[6] *Synkretismus*, p. 159.

correspondences of the various allied languages, save in Greek and Germanic where the internal evidence is not sufficient. Testimony of a like kind would also tend to establish a prehistoric connection between the two cases in the (5) **domain of Agency**, namely, when they are used with the past participle, the early employment of which in a passive sense — as consequent upon the idea of completeness it embodies — has been indicated before. (Cf. §§ 5 and 6.) For, we encounter the following usage:

LATIN: solely dative, *si tibi sat acceptumst*, Plaut. *Most.* 224.

SLAVIC: instrumental only, *nosimъ cetyrьmi*, αἰρόμενον ὑπὸ τεσσάρων, Mk. 2, 3, but

INDO-IRANIAN has both dative and instrumental, as

SANSKRIT: dative, tho rarely, *yás tē drapsáḥ skannáḥ*, 'welcher Tropfen von dir übergespritzt ist,' *RV.* 10, 17, 13, cf. *S.F.* V. 382.

*iddm ma uditám kṛdhi*, 'dass dies von mir gesprochen sei,' *RV.* 10, 151, 2, cf. Havers, p. 10.

*yā́ tē didyúd avasṛṣṭā́ divás pári*, 'welcher Blitz durch dich vom Himmel geschleudert worden ist,' *RV.* 7, 46, 3, cf. Havers, p. 14.

*rátha iva bṛhatí vibhvánē kṛtṓpastútyā cikitúṣā sárasvatī*, 'erhaben wie ein von einem geschickten Werkmeister gemachter Wagen, S. ist zu preisen von dem Kundigen,' Grassmann, *Ueb.* I. 550, *RV.* 6, 61, 13.[1]

instrumental, *nṛ́bhiḥ punānáḥ*, 'purified by the men,' *RV.* 9, 87, 1.

*pitṛ́bhiḥ dattáḥ*, 'given by the fathers,' *RV.* 10, 107, 1.

AVESTAN: dative, *anyahmāi aršānāi varštəm*, 'begotten by another man,' *Yt.* 17, 58.

Cf. also the pregnant datives in

*aēibyō ratūš sōnghaiti ārmaitiš*, 'die von ihnen gefällten Richtersprüche wird A. verkünden,' *Y.* 43, 6, Barth. *Wb.* 1502.

[1] Even tho Grassmann's textual emendation of dat. *vibhvánē* to inst. *vibhvánā* is unnecessary, there is no compelling reason for Oldenberg's acceptance of Ludwig's rendering 'dazu geschaffen, sich auszubreiten,' *Ṛgveda, textkrit. u. exeg. Noten*, p. 406. Since the dative with passive expressions is certainly not unknown, the interpretation of *vibhvánē* by Böhtlingk-Roth, *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, VI. 1134, as "*dat. für instr.*" is undoubtedly admissible. To me *RV.* 6, 61, 13 *vibhvánē kṛtṓ* is absolutely similar in force to *RV.* 1, 141, 8 *rátho śíkvabhiḥ kṛtṓ*, 'a chariot made by artists.'

*yaθā hī taibyō dåvhā*, 'so gut wie durch Dich die Verleihung' sc. zugesagt, *Y.* 44, 18, Barth. *Wb.* 744: '*Dat. des Urhebers.*'

*yə̄ nå̊ išt̄ō*, 'der von uns verehrt,' Wolff, *Y.* 56, 1.[1]

instrumental, *Y.* 43, 10 *paršt̄m zī θwā*, 'interrogatum enim a - te,' Bthl. *Wb.* 997.

*hū. kərəṭā aš̄āčīṯ*, 'den durch Aša wohlgebahnten [Weg],' *Y.* 34, 13, Barth. *Wb.* 1536.

This twofold denotation of the agent with the participle demonstrates the fact that the formulas

(*a*) **deiu̯ō dətós*, 'given by the god,' and

(*b*) **tod tōi nṛ'āi qṛtóm esti*, 'that is done by, for, this man,'

are historically correct and to just such an extent precursors of the later expressions of Agency with the finite passive verbs. — We are now prepared to enter upon a detailed consideration of the dative-agent and the instrumental-agent in the various Indo-European languages.

[1] For the exchange of gAv. dat. *nə̄* with gAv. acc. *nå̊* cf. Reichelt, p. 293.

## CHAPTER IV

### The Dative of Agency in Latin

§ 38. When we first encounter Latin we see it in a stage where many changes had made it markedly different from the related languages. We know very little of this early history, for Latin lacks older works of real national character. The comedians Plautus and Terence and those remnants of Ennian poetry which fortunately have been preserved represent the material that is here adduced for this inceptional stage. The question, too, of foreign, notably Greek, influence looms up in many connections, and so in relation to Latin syntax, especially to the construction here discussed.

§ 39. The opinions of (*a*) the ancient grammarians may be of interest by way of introduction. Priscian[1] volunteers no information as to how the dative became attached to the passive, despite the fact that the question had before him been taken up by Servius. The latter, as is known, attributes the construction to Greek importation; "'*Neque cernitur ulli*,' neque ab ullo cernitur; et est Graecum οὐδενὶ ὁρώμενος, ut *scriberis Vario*,[2] id est scribet te Varius," says he in commenting on *Aeneid* I. 144.[3]

(*b*) The modern explanation of the dative as *commodi vel incommodi* goes back to that period in the history of Latin Grammar when the several uses of the dative in all languages were reduced to an unqualified unit and the ablative was looked upon as an interloper.[4] So we read back in 1526 — this is the oldest medieval syntax I have at hand — in *Aldi Pii Manutii Inst. Gram. Libri Quatuor. Addito infine de octo partium orationis cōstructione libello Erasmo Roterodamo Autore*, p. 10, Ordo I. "Datiuus post uer-

[1] *De Passivo, Inst. Lib.* xviii. 123, vol. III. ed. Keil.

[2] Hor. lib. I. od. 6.

[3] *Comm. in Verg. Aen.* rec. Thilo et Hagen, Lipsiae, 1878, vol. I.

[4] Cf. to the latter Priscian, V. 672; Pompeii, *Comm. artis Donati*, Keil, V. 181; and as late as the 18th century, Reisig, *Vorlesungen*, III. § 379.

bum. Quoduis uerbum *acquisitiue* positum exigit datiuum, ut *Non omnibus dormio. . . . Mihi istuc nec seritur nec metitur.*" I have emphasized acquisitiue because of Tillmann's statement[1] that it is to Sanctius we must go back for the first conception of the *dat. auct.* as one of interest. — Voss of Amsterdam[2] is careful to differentiate between what he calls true Graecism and none at all, "Sic nativus sermo est (p. 460) si dicas de Trajano, *Est Senatui laudatus:* quia itidem in activo dicas, *Senatui laudare.* At non aequè nativus, *est Plinio laudatus;* pro *à Plinio:* quia in activo eâ significatione non dicam, *Plinio laudavit:* sed, *Plinius laudavit.* Quare planè distinguendum, inter dativos passivis appositos: quia tunc demum structura est Graecanica, cum in activo pro dativo est nominativus." — The Port Royal grammar[3] very conveniently places this dative among the exceptions, p. 383. — To Sanctius[4] '*deus amatur mihi*' is similar to '*hoc non probatur mihi,*' and both have but the same dative as '*da pecunias mihi.*' "Itaque '*non cernitur ulli,*' id est, *nulli ostendebatur, nulli erat conspicuus.*" "Mihi tamen hic & ubique dativus *acquisitionem* significat," which is a viewpoint evidently less sane than that of Voss.

§ 40. Madvig's note to Cicero *De Fin.* 1. 4, 11[5] forms the basis of all recent discussions, "Exempla bonorum scriptorum prosae orationis aut in participio sunt, ut res ecfecta tamquam externa exstet et ad personam referatur siue commodi siue aliqua eiusmodi ratione [*pertractata mihi sunt*, id est, *habeo pertractata*, II. de Orat. 146; *elaboratum mihi est*, Diu. in Caec. 40] aut in eiusmodi uerbis, ut non solum ab aliquo, sed etiam alicui res fieri intellegatur, ut in quaerendi uerbo." So monographers like Tillmann,[6] who supersedes Wisseler[7] and is in turn supplemented by Schaefler,[8] fully subscribe to this concept of possession or acquisition of

[1] *Act. Erl.* II. 72.

[2] Gerardi Ioannis Vossii *Aristarchus*, ed. secunda, tom. II. 458 f. Amst. 1662.

[3] *Nouvelle Methode pour apprendre facilement la langue Latine*, etc. Dixieme ed. Par. 1709.

[4] *Franc. Sanctii Brocensis Minerva*, with notes of Scioppius — Perizonius, ed. quinta, Amst. 1733, pp. 181 and 396 of vol. 3.

[5] *M. Tulli Ciceronis de finibus bon. et mal.* Hauniae, 1839, p. 27.

[6] *De dativo verbis passivis linguae Latinae subiecto qui vocatur Graecus, in Act. Sem. Erl.* II. pp. 71–140, 1881.

[7] *De dativo cum verbis passivis coniuncto latinis scriptoribus cum graecis communi*, Prog. Wesel, 1838.

[8] *Die sog. syntaktischen Grăcismen* 1884, p. 47 ff.

the type of '*est mihi aliquid*,' and so do later grammarians, Holtze,[1] Draeger,[2] Kühner,[3] Haase,[4] Roby,[5] and Schmalz.[6]

§ 41. A difficulty, however, arises from the circumstance that Madvig's definition of the dative of agency does not apply to all instances. '*Est mihi moriundum*' may indeed mean 'death exists for me,' but certainly not that 'one has to die *in or for my interests*.'[7] It covers only cases where the dative is at the same time a *dat. commodi vel incommodi*.[8] It is already inapplicable to a great number of examples in Livy,[9] Tacitus[10] and even Cicero.[11] Such a phrase as '*videnda oratori*' may easily be paraphrased as 'the things that are such *for the orator* that it is incumbent upon him to examine them'; a '*visum est oratori*,' that a certain result exists *for the orator* from this examination, but no such connotation attaches to the Ciceronian *legionem Fausto conscriptam*, *ad Att.* 8. 3, 7, and *ibid.* 12, 1. The question as to whether such uses, substantially equivalent to *ab c. abl.*, are indigenous to the Latin dative or represent foreign and non-dativa1 influence, becomes thus the critical point in connection with the Latin dative of agency.

§ 42. Narrowed down to fundamentals, the question is as follows: Is the agency idea in the *dat. auctoris*, as undoubtedly present in Latin distinct and separate from that of advantage or disadvantage, merely an extension of the latter or the result of Greek influence? Antiquated views, such as that of Reisig,[12] according to which the dative-agent is an ablatival construction transferred to the dative shortly after the invention of the sixth case, will not detain us. Tillmann (*op. cit.*) and Landgraf[13] insist that the construction was born and bred on native soil, but that its use was extended, under the influence of the similar but better developed Greek form, at the time of the Augustan poets; whilst

[1] *Syntaxis prisc. script.* Lat. I. 312.
[2] *Hist. Synt.* I. § 189.
[3] *Ausf. Gramm.* II. 239.
[4] *Vorlesungen*, II. 149.
[5] *Grammar of Lat. Language*, II. 60.
[6] *Lat. Syntax*, p. 246.
[7] Cf. Miles, *Compar. Synt. of Gk. and Latin*, I., Cambridge, 1893, p. 27.
[8] Landgraf's note to Reisig, *Vorlesungen*, III. p. 628.
[9] Kühnast, *Syntaxis Liviana*[2], p. 139.
[10] Heraeus *ad hist.* 1, 11 and Nipperdey *ad ann.* 2, 50.
[11] Cf. Tillmann's examples, *op. cit.* pp. 79–84.
[12] *Vorlesungen*, III. § 379.
[13] In notes to Reisig, III. p. 627, and pp. 1–15 of *Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der lat. Sprache*, Prog. München, 1899.

Brenous[1] stands for Greek influence even before that time. A historical survey will best bring out the facts.

§ 43. There is no reason to suppose with the grammarians[2] that the dative of agency appeared first necessarily with the gerund and gerundive, and only then with the perfect passive participle because of the latter's adjectival force. Such a view might partly be justified by the comparative infrequency of the latter combination in the earliest times, since Ennius has but two examples,[3] *nam quoi quod agat, institutumst, Sc.* 236, *is dictust ollis popularibus, Ann.* 306, and Plautus and Terence[4] comparatively few, e.g. *Phorm.* 248, *meditata mihi sunt omnia mea incommoda; Epid.* 467, *argenti quinquaginta mi illa emptast minis,* 471, *estne empta haec mi? Most.* 224, *si tibi sat acceptumst,* etc.,[5] but it is of importance to note that these instances appear as early as the gerundival examples, and that the employment of the p.p.p. with the dative is an I-E. feature far antedating even the creation of the specifically Italic gerund and gerundive.[6] Of interest here is also one inscriptional example, *maiorem obtenui laudem, ut sibei me esse creatum laetentur, CIL.* I. 38. That the idea of necessity or completeness is not inherent in the dative; that thus we can have expressions like '*oratio habenda est*' or '*visum est*' without reference to the agent of the action, is but another proof of the ability of the dative to combine with a p.p.p. at any early period.

§ 44. The gerundive and gerund are more frequent with the *dat. auctoris*, than the past participle, *e.g.* Ennius, *Ann.* 45 f., *o gnata, tibi sunt ante ferendae Aerumnae;* Plautus, *Rud.* 1298, *adeundus mi illic est homo; Bac.* 325, *nunc tibimet illuc navi capiundumst iter;* Terence, *Andr.* 166, *restat Chremes, Qui mi exorandus est; ibid.* 152, *prope adest, quom alieno more vivendumst mihi.* The dative is not surprising with the gerundive, owing to the latter's originally purely adjectival force, since the dative with adjectives is one of the commonest phenomena in the Indo-European

[1] *Étude sur les Hellénismes dans la Syntaxe Latine*, Par. 1895, pp. 154–183.

[2] Cf. all those referred to in §§ 40–42.

[3] Cf. Frobenius, *Die Syntax des Ennius*, p. 31.

[4] As in the instance of Terence, so in that of Plautus the edition of the *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, recognovit W. M. Lindsay, has been used thruout. However, other recensions, especially that of Goetz-Schoell, have also been consulted.

[5] Cf. Holtze, *Syntaxis*, I. 312; Lindsay, *Synt. of Plautus*, Oxf. 1907.

[6] Cf. §§ 37 and 44, note.

family of languages.[1] Horton-Smith's plausible theory[2] of the origin of the gerundive also explains this dative as one of advantage, with the idea of 'giving' in the suffix *-do*, as "Cic. Off. I. 41, *aliorum iudicio permulta nobis et facienda et non facienda et mutanda et corrigenda sunt* = in the opinion of others there are very many things which give [cause] us the doing, the non-doing, the changing and the correcting, *i.e.* which should be done by us." As to the passive tinge of the verbal adjective, though it is secondary no doubt, we can easily think of '*facile dictu*' 'easy to say' developing into 'easy to be said,' the 'the-doing for some one' becoming the 'the-deed-to-be-done *for some one*.' "The secret of the passive lies in an indefinite subject: '*vivit*' is a definite 'he lives,' '*vivitur*' an indefinite 'one lives.'"[3] At any rate, the earliest

[1] For a morphological discussion of the gerundive cf. later, § 86; agreement has been reached on the score of its being an Italic formation, preceding in point of time the gerund which is not found in the literary monuments of Umbr.-Samn. [cf. Brugmann, *Grdr.*[1] II. § 1103, Anm. 3 and Horton-Smith in *AJP.* vol. 15, 194; 16, 217; 18, 449 and 19, 413], the opinions of Weisweiler [*Das lat. part. fut. pass.* Paderborn, 1890], and Platner [*AJP.* vol. 14, 4] based on Terence and Plautus notwithstanding. That the *-ndo* forms were originally adjectival and that their relation to the verbal categories arose from the context, is the contention of Weisweiler, *op. cit.* p. 64 ff. On the basis of the latter's work Brugmann, *ubi supra*, thinks it highly probable, "dass unserm Gerundivum die Bedeutung der zu vollziehenden Thätigkeit von Anfang an zukam." It is more likely, however, that this is a development from its use as a mediopassive present participle instead of an original **-menos*, cf. Persson, *De origine ac vi primigenia gerundii ac gerundivi Latini*, Upsala, 1900. This idea may be seen as early as Perizonius' notes to Sanctius, 15, 8, cf. Landgraf to Reisig, III. 747. As a part. fut. pass. it does not figure till the third century after Christ, tho see Kvicala, *Wiener Studien* (1879), I. 236, to Livy's preface § 6, '*ante conditam condendamve urbem*,' whereas to express obligation it appears in Plautus: probably first in negative sentences, *non ferendum*, what cannot be suffered, then *ferendum*, what is, can, must be suffered. (Sommer, *Handbuch*, p. 650 ff.) Its third use in the sense of 'facile est' develops only after Cicero. The very earliest meaning it had was probably what the suffix *-do* means, 'doing, causing to be done' or even 'giving,' so that *volvendus* is 'giving a roll' as in Lucr. II. 3, 11; *dat motus*, i.e. *movetur*, cf. Horton-Smith, *AJP.* 15, 213. Bayard, *De gerundivi et gerundii vi antiquissima*, diss. Par. 1902, sees in the two participial forms of *sequor*, i.e. *secundus* and *sequendus*, respectively, the original active meaning and the more recent passive use of the gerundive. So Roby, Grammar, pp. lxi–xcvii, conjectures that the passive sense of the gerundive is really due to an attraction and not to any originally passive signification.

[2] *AJP.* 15, 213.

[3] E. W. Fay in *AJP.* 15, 221.

usage of the gerundive with the dative of interest well accords with its passival character.

§ 45. To revert to the p.p.p. whose connection with the dat. auct. is the more important for the latter's development, three points are of importance in relation to it in the pre-classic period:

(*a*) The participle is used and felt as an adjective with the dative, and is often replaceable as when in Sil. Ital. V. 334, *nulli non saucius hosti* is equivalent to *sauciatus*, just as Pliny's *celebres Homero vituli, Hist. Nat.* 32, 11, 144, is really *celebratus*. Cf. also adjectives of the *-bilis* type, Haase, *Vorlesungen*, II. 156; Roby, II. § 1146. When the p.p.p. cannot be reduced to an adjectival force, the only alternative is, as in the periphrastic perfect, that of a *fact accomplished, result attained for some one: cognitum mihi* is *habeo cognitum* in open disguise. These two meanings determine absolutely without exception the early connotation of the participle with the dative. As it is, it occurs rarely. Ennius has but two examples, *institutus* and *dictus*, cf. Ribbeck, *Trag.*[2] 185, and Cic. *Brut.* 15, 58, also Frobenius, p. 65 ff.; Terence only three more, *meditatus, Phorm.* 248; *susceptus, ibid.* 967; *exoptatus, Heaut.* 408; *decretum, ibid.* 392; *spectatus*, 'tried,' *Ad.* 893.

(*b*) These datives with the participles in early Latin are regularly pronouns of the personal, relative, and demonstrative type. Thus Plautus has 5 personal pronouns and 3 demonstratives, Terence only two personals, but Ennius none. Havers[1] is surely wrong if he means to deny the existence of relative and demonstrative pronouns, beside personals, in any but Plaut. *Merc.* 743, *nobis coquendast, non quoi conducti sumus.* No one, indeed, after the acute observation of Seyffert,[2] need give a moment's attention to *Epid.* 227,

> *at tributus quom inperatus est, negant pendi potis;*
> *illis, quibus tributus maior penditur, pendi potest,*

about which both Tillmann, p. 78, and Brenous, p. 166, are at sea,[3] but surely Ennius, *Sc.* 236, *quoi* is not a personal pronoun, nor

[1] *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der idg. Sprachen*, 1911, p. 188.

[2] Cf. Landgraf, *Beiträge*, p. 7, footnote.

[3] The real meaning of this passage, which has been the mainstay of those who would see in it an exception to what seems to be a Plautian rule that the dat. com. in auctorial sense appears only with perfect forms, judging by the context is as follows: To the state the taxpayers declare that they are unable to pay the tax; but to those, *i.e.* the women of whom the two interlocutors are dis-

*Ann.* 306, *ollis popularibus*, nor perhaps, Plaut. *Aul.* prol. 4 and 5, *patri avoque*. Plautus, *Epid.* 520, I find, as corrected by Pontanus, '*me impune irrisum esse habitum, depeculatum eis*' would be an interesting addition, but the three lines 518–520 are missing from the Ambrosian text and are condemned by Geppert and Goetz. q. v.

(*c*) The early possibility of the retention in the passive of a dative which could be attracted to the verb in the active is one more proof that originally this dat. was but one of personal interest. The old formula of mancipation '*emptus mihi est pretio*'[1] is among the first we meet in this transformation. So in Plaut. *Epid.* 154, *qui ubi tibi istam emptam esse scibit*, and 467, *mihi illa emptast*, the phrase '*emitur mihi*' is the passive of '*emo mihi*,' '*mihi*' being identical in both. In *Sen. controv.* I. 2, 7, '*ancillae ex lupanaribus sacerdoti non emuntur*' we are not given to understand whether the priestess should or should not herself make the purchase; all the sentence conveys is that she is not to have and harbor such persons. So the whole host of participles like *sumptus*, *probatus*, *comprobatus*, *quaesitus*, *susceptus*,[2] *spectatus*, *visus*,[3] and even *conductus*, for '*mihi servus, sc. aliquid, conducitur*,' *Merc.* 560, is but the passive of '*mihi servum conduco*.' On *Merc.* 743 cf. Tillmann, p. 77, who commits the error of classing these datives with the later and real datives of agency.

§ 46. No essential change in the usage of the dative in question appears before Cicero. It is a regular dat. of interest denoting *for whom the action must take place*, gerundive, or *for whom it is a fact accomplished*, past participle or its compounds. No other combination occurs and the dative is pronominal, overwhelmingly personal. In Cicero, however, the passive verb is found not only in the perfect but also in the present and imperfect; for this purpose verbs are used other than such as could take a dative in the active;

coursing, to whom a far greater toll is paid, they can pay. It is but fair to add that as early as 1845, I find, Naudet's translation, III. 400, takes this view, "mais on peut bien leur payer à elles de plus grands tributs"; so, too, *Epid.* ed. Gray, Camb. 1893, p. 35, note, "the subject of *negant* must be the men." *Illis*, therefore, is a dat. of ind. object = *meretricibus*.

[1] Gaius. 1, 119; apud Tillmann, 78: *Fragm. iur. Rom. Vatic.* 50 in Huschkii *Jurispr. Anteiustin. quae supersunt*[2], p. 692.

[2] Cf. Haase, *Vorlesungen*, II. 152.

[3] As Plaut. *Mil. Gl.* 517; "*videri*, scheinen, ist kein Deponens, sondern ein mediales Passiv, dessen Infin. futuri *visum iri* heisst, also ist der damit verbundene Casus dem Dativ bei passiven Verbis gleich zu achten," Draeger, I. 405.

the dative is not restricted to personal or other pronouns, but may be a substantive as well. The whole combination is changed, so that many datives can no longer be explained according to Madvig's definition, since while they may be, often unnaturally, fashioned to disclose a subsidiary idea of interest, they denote rather activities that are purely external, in a word, auctorial. *Verr.* III. 43, *Metello paternus honos et avitus neglegebatur* has not a past verb and *ad Att.* 8, 12, 1, *qui ex delectibus conscripti sunt consulibus* is not in the interest of the consuls.

§ 47. There are, as we have indicated, § 42, but two ways of explanation. A third one that suggests itself from the contemplation of extra-Italic conditions, viz. that the real *dat. auctoris* in Latin is the inheritor of the twofold I-E. usage typified in Indo-Iranian, with perhaps a latent instrumental force in it cropping to surface under such favorable circumstances as an approximation in meaning with the indigenous *dat. commodi*, is interesting because of the presence in Plautus of one compound infinitive, and even of one present tense, if with Acidalius and Goeller we may emend *Aul.* prol. 4 and 5, as '*et color patri avoque iam huius*'[1] and also because of the possible existence[2] of substantives used as dat. auctoris in Ennius: *Saturno sancte create*, *Ann.* 627,[3] and *arcus subspiciunt, mortalibus quae perhibentur* [Iris], found in Priscian, VI. 259, 5 H. There is, however, no further evidence of the free use of the dative of agency in early Latin nor therefore of any instrumental contamination of it. Besides we must remember, that because a construction occurs in some one language of the Indo-European group, this is no proof that it certainly occurred in another language of the same group.[4]

[1] Ussing, ed. Havniae, 1878, p. 276, retains '*colo*' in accordance with the Codd. Par., remarking "propter dativum, qui sequitur, Acidalius '*color*' scribendum censebat; mihi dativus commodi defendi posse videtur." This would equate '*colo*' with '*incolo*,' and '*patri*' with '*pro patre*,' or "This house for many years I have occupied and guarded for the sire and grandsire of its present owner." The construction '*possideo et colo domum patri avoque*,' however, is scarcely Latin, whilst '*colo*' for '*color*,' 'honor, cherish' is perfectly normal as '*a quibus diligenter observari videmur et coli*,' Cic. *Mur.* 34, 70. So Goeller, ed. 1825.

[2] Hoc contra, without much reason, Havers, *op. cit.* p. 189, footnote 2, as "nicht beweiskräftig."

[3] Furius in IV, "quod genus hoc hominum Saturno sancte create," p. 117 of ed. Vahlen. [4] Miles, *Comp. Synt.*[2] p. 30.

§ 48. The numerical differences observable between the language of archaic and classic Latinity undoubtedly are too great and sudden in proportion to be explained away on the ground of indigenous development. With due regard to the workings of analogy, of concinnity, and of such unavoidable ἀπὸ κοινοῦ constructions as *De Senectute*, 11, 38, '*semper in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intelligitur quando obrepat senectus*,' where the dative might equally well go with '*obrepat*,'[1] the fact remains that whereas Plautus has,[2] besides six passive perfects and a compound infinitive, one sole doubtful case of a finite passive form; the remains of Ennius' works two perfects and no finite form; Terence the same and then Catullus but one finite form, *tereretur* 68, 15, on the other hand, Cicero out of 128 instances has not only 11 participles and 63 perfects, but also 8 pluperfects and 2 future perfects, not only 23 compound infinitives, but also 8 simple infinitives and, to cap all, 13 distinct forms of simple finite passives, viz. 9 presents, 3 imperfects, and one future. Besides, Plautus deals only in pronouns, of which 5 out of 8 are personal; Terence restricts himself to 2 personal pronouns; Ennius alone, of all writers of antiquity, has one example of a substantive, the '*ollis popularibus*' of Ann. 306, and this one is combined with a pronoun.[3] Catullus, at a distance from Ennius, out of 9 examples has but 2 nouns, one proper and one common, *est enim venuste magna Caecilio incohata mater*, 35, 18, and *pluribus ut caeli tereretur ianua divis*, 68, 115. Cicero already has 5 proper names and 12 substantives.

§ 49. The disturbing factor appears to have been Greek influence. The historical fact of Graeco-Roman linguistic contact[4] would *à priori* permit the consideration of such an influence. The success of a Livius Andronicus and the Greek medium of the early annalists, to mention but these, must be taken as a token of a pro-Hellenistic attitude even at that period. The very question of the

[1] Haase, *Vorlesungen*, II. 151.

[2] Cf. the examples of Tillmann, p. 105; Schaefler, p. 48; Brenous, p. 154.

[3] A circumstance in which Havers, p. 188, sees a transition from the pure pronominal to the nominal dat. of agency. Flügel in *Zs. f. Völkerpsych.* XI. 58, indicates the indissoluble unity of the concept of Self and its Name, so that he thinks of the proper name as an intermediate stage in this transition. If, then, Havers is correct, we might ceteris paribus accept *Saturno*, Ann. 627 as regular for that early period.

[4] Cf. F. O. Weise, *Charakteristik d. lat. Sprache*, 1909, p. 55 ff., and for a general view Saalfeld's *Der Hellenismus in Latium*, Wolfenbüttel, 1883.

absolutely pure Latinity of even so-called archaic Latin is not thus exempt from all suspicion. Beginning with the fashion of the poets, Catullus being the first in point of time, to import and imitate everything bearing a Greek stamp, from the technic loans of Horace to the recondite Alexandrinism of Propertius, not to speak of the epic and prose writers, the matter of influence upon syntactical Latin becomes even more patent and decisive.[1] Haase, II. 151, is incorrect when he states that "der griechische Gebrauch ist für Cicero noch nicht vorhanden," for his contemporary, Caesar, has only two examples of the dative of agency,[2] viz. *B. C.* 1, 6, *praeterea cognitum compertumque sibi* and *B. G.* 7, 20, *victoria quae iam esset sibi atque omnibus Gallis explorata*, and those, too, of the ancient variety; and the other contemporary, Sallust, has no more than one irregular example,[3] *Jug.* 107, 1, '*saepe antea paucis strenuis advorsum multitudinem bene pugnatum*' [rendered highly questionable by *Jug.* 114, 1, '*per idem tempus advorsum Gallos ab ducibus nostris . . . male pugnatum*;' so much so that I see in '*antea*' a corruption of '*ante*' and '*a*'], and, lastly, it was Cicero himself, who, besides other examples, wrote *ep. Att.* 14, 21, 3, '*sed mihi quidem βεβίωται.*'[4]

§ 50. With the Augustan poets and historians whose style the former admittedly influenced, there is already no limit to personal innovations and the sense of '*mihi c. passivo*' can rarely be differentiated from the type '*a me*,' the dative appearing very frequently in places where one expects, according to earlier usages, *ab c. ablativo*. It may be said, in general, that after Tacitus the primitive sense, *natura*, of the *dat. auctoris* as a *dat. commodi* is almost

[1] Cf. F. O. Weise, *op. cit.* p. 191.

[2] Draeger, I. 435, somehow credits him with none.

[3] Haase himself, *l.c.*, explains *Hist.* I. 42, 25 'quae si vobis pax et concordia intellegentur' as 'sunt' or 'videntur.'

[4] True, Cicero tells us, *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 8, 15, "*Dicam, si potero, Latine: scis enim me Graece loqui in Latino sermone non plus solere quam in Graeco Latine*," but the passage, by its very context, refers solely to simultaneous bilingual practice and gives no warrant for a belief that in his writings Cicero endeavored to rule out Greek constructions. As to the latter, cf. Kertelhein, *Ueber Gräcismen in Ciceros Reden*, Jena, 1894; Lebreton, *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron*, Paris, 1901, especially in connection with *Tusc. Disp.* 2, 7, 19, *aspice Philoctetam, cui concedendum est gementi;* and Brenous, *passim* and p. 440, "tandis que Cicéron s'excuse quand il emploie des mots grecs, nous ne voyons pas qu'il s'agisse de même quand il se sert de constructions hellénisantes," possibly because Greek was to him a second mother-tongue.

entirely lost and that no care is exercised in drawing a dividing line between the two. Beginning with Plautus, thru Vergil, as *e.g. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur*, Aen. I. 574 and *nihil o tibi amice, relictum*, VI. 509, where it is surely not for his benefit; Propertius, *Prata cruentantur Zetho*, 4, 14, 41; or Ovid, *tactaque nascenti corpus haberet humus, Trist.* 4, 3, 46, *nobis habitabitur orbis ultimus, ibid.* 1, 1, 127, and the much-cited *barbarus hic ego sum quia non intelligor ulli, ibid.* 5, 10, 37, up to Ammianus Marcellinus, there are all together about 1222 instances of both sorts. (Cf. Tillmann's examples.) For the Church Fathers, among whom the chief offender was Cyprian, cf. Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, 1875, p. 436.

§ 51. To assert, however, that the construction was altogether due to borrowing from the Greek is equally out of the question. Taken as a whole we cannot say that the dativus auctoris was a construction wholly alien to Latin and one to which the latter took a bold leap. Rather must we say, agreeably to the facts we have detailed above, that it is a construction for which Latin had a latent capacity but to which it crept by slow stages until accelerated by a similar Greek model, in the same sense as the Latin '*bellum abolendae infamiae*' became the Tacitean '*proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis*' not mediately thru a stage of **pugnat abolendae infamiae*, but under the influence of a Greek ἀπῆλθε τοῦ γνῶναι.[1] This is precisely what Brugmann understands by the term *Graecism:*[2] "Unter Gräzismus hat man nicht zu verstehen, dass der lateinischen Sprache etwas ihr von Haus aus völlig Fremdes aufgepfropft wurde, sondern es wurde nur ein seinem Ursprung nach echt einheimischer Anwendungstypus, weil er im Griechischen ein von den Römern empfundenes Analogon hatte, nach diesem ausländischen Muster weiter ausgebildet." So Brenous, p. 79, tho somewhat more radically, "Quand nous disons 'Hellénisme,' nous voulons dire que la construction n'est pas, à la place où nous la rencontrons, ce que nous attendions, qu'elle en est même toute différente, et que, ne pouvant pas être légitimée en latin, elle a sa justification propre dans la construction grecque correspondante dont elle est imitée, soit directement et sans être préparée par quelque tour analogue, soit en s'aidant de ce point d'appui." We have ascertained this point d'appui.

§ 52. Other points of contact, besides the fundamental connection, were not lacking by any means. A Horatian '*bellaque*

[1] Miles, *Comp. Synt.* p. 57. [2] *I.F.* V. 100.

*matribus detestata*,' Od. I. 1, 24, might also be interpreted as 'wars that are an object of detestation for mothers' and similar expressions of emotion, as *amatus*, *dilectus*, *spretus*, which easily glide into a connection of authorship, can be taken as having contributed their quota to the native development of the dat. auctoris. So undoubtedly the datives with intransitive passives, as *cadere alicui = caedi ab aliquo*, and *iacere = prostratum esse*, e.g. *cui consul in armis Crispinus cecidit*, Sil. Ital. 17, 305, as a parallel to a *tanto cecidisse viro*, Ov. *Met.* 5, 192, both set against Tibull. 1, 1, 33 *agna cadet vobis* with the clear dative of interest (cf. Reisig, III. note 551 a), to which it is not at all fantastic to compare the development, according to Delbrück, *S.F.* IV. 75, of the Greek dative-instrumentals with aorists in *-ην* and *-θην*. (Cf. Brenous, p. 160.) In a word, Latin may be said to have had its own points of view in this respect. Unaided it developed the native *dativus commodi* to a certain degree from which the construction might naturally have risen to the rank of the *dativus auctoris* pure and simple. (Even Plautus' *Men.* 645 '*palla surruptast mihi*' in reply to '*palla mihist domo surrupta*' sounds, to my modern ears at least, dangerously near the brink of agency.) It was, however, betimes assisted in this tendency by the entirely homogeneous construction of the Greek. In this sense only is the Latin dative-agent with passives a Graecism.

## CHAPTER V

### The Instrumental of Agency in Slavic. — The Genitive of Agency in Lithuanian

§ 53. Just as Latin offers the best illustration of the development of the dative-concept into that of agency, so Slavic, whereof old Bulgarian, OBg., is selected as the type, does with respect to the Instrumental. It has been indicated before that the Instrumental of agency is but a development of the Instrumental of means with passive expressions. As such it is directly traceable to the Inst. of association which is the accepted forerunner of the Inst. of means. A series of examples might thus be adduced to represent the hypothetical gradations, but it must always be borne in mind, since we must believe the Passive to have arisen in each language only after the dialectal scission, that in this connection only the idea embodied in the Sk. *karaṇa*, but not that in the word *kartar*, can be considered as I-E. with finite verbs. The case is, of course, entirely different, with the past participle, § 37.

§ 54. Thus we have (*a*) pure concomitation[1] in Slavic expressed by the instrumental, — altho it is rare by reason of competition on the part of the preposition sъ, — and that first of all in military expressions,[2]

*nužda jemu běaše iti voi*, Sup. 157, 26, 'proficisci cum militibus' corresponding to the Lat. abl. of association, as in '*Caesar omnibus copiis Ilerdam proficiscitur*,' *B.C.* 1, 41, 2.

(*b*) This concomitation, especially, again, in military expressions, shades off into means or instrument, so cf.

*udariti ratiju na gradъ*, 'cum exercitu urbem invadere'

and even nearer to the inst. of means in denotation of conveyances, as[3]

*i idą vъ pusto mešto korabl'em edini*, Mk. 6, 32, 'and they departed into the desert place by ship, τῷ πλοίῳ.'

[1] Turns like *kъmotrami svoimi ne sъměšati sę*, 'cum matrinis suis non commisceri,' Cloz. I. 101, are thus omitted.

[2] Vondrák, II. 342; Miklosich, IV. 723.

[3] Miklosich, IV. 689.

(*c*) To the use and extent of the inst. of means there is no limitation. *ALI.* p. 58 ff., gives an approximate sketch of it. For the Slavic, Vondrák, II. 345, offers similar categories. One example, however, must be mentioned here because of its interest in relation to Germanic, *čimъ odeždem sę* Mt. 6, 31, cf. Gothic *ƕe wasjaima*, *τί περιβαλώμεθα.*

(*d*) It is but natural to expect that since the sociative inst. referred largely to persons, its logical successor, the inst. of means, should likewise refer to persons. In fact, persons are also found employed as means or instrument in a manner equivalent to Latin *per c. acc.*:[1]

*tьkomъ reče*, Sup. 44, 12, 'per interpretem dixit,'
*něstъ gospodь nynja glagolalъ mьnoją*, Sup. 144, 17, 'non per me nunc locutus est,'
*bě slje jej věsti susědami*, 'mittebat nuncios ei per vicinas.'

(*e*) Delbrück has intimated for the Sanskrit[2] that it was from this inst. of means with the active that the inst. of agency with the passive had risen. But just as the possibility of a development like "*śáṃsati vácōbhiḥ* > *śasyásē vácōbhiḥ* > *ribhyatē vásiṣṭhāiḥ*, i.e. he praises with words > thou art praised with words > he is praised by the Vasiṣṭhas" cannot be denied, for the Slavic itself as well as for the other languages, a "*per interpretem dixit* > *dictum per interpretem*, i.e. *ab interprete*" formula would not only be conceivable, but would be directly prior to the Sanskrit model because of the finite passive forms in the latter. Such participial forms are not at all uncommon in Slavic.[3]

*vъ roždenychъ ženami*, Mt. 11, 11, ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν;
*iskušajemъ sotonoją*, Mk. 1, 13, πειραζόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ;
*pravimъ dъvěma aggeloma*, Sup. 124, 26, 'qui a duobus angelis ducitur';
*ne vidimъ nikymьže*, *ibid.* 159, 28, 'qui a nemine videtur';
*nosimъ cetyrьmi*, Mk. 2, 3, αἰρόμενον ὑπὸ τεσσάρων;

these instrumentals of personal agency are doubtless all developments from the instrumental of personified means, like

*trъstь větromъ dvižema*, Lk. 7, 24, κάλαμος ὑπὸ ἀνέμου σαλευόμενος,

where we have only a personified agent, and Russian *pisьmo napi-*

[1] Miklosich, IV. 693; Vondrák, II. 345. [2] *S.F.* V. 135 and *Vgl. Synt.* I. 268.
[3] Miklosich, IV. 704; *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 123.

*sano mnoju*, 'the letter is written by me,' must be analyzed according to *napisano peromъ*, 'written by a pen,' and *napisalъ peromъ*, 'I write with a pen.'[1]

(*f*) Reflexives employed as passives also take the inst. of agency.[2]

*čjuditъ sja vsěmi Mojsi*, 'Moses is admired of all,' Izv. 615.

*nareče sę prěprostyj vьsejǫ bratijǫ*, Sup. 131, 19, 'dictus est simplex ab omnibus fratribus.'

*krьsti sę tu sąštiimъ episkupomъ*, *ibid.* 146, 10, 'baptizatus ab episcopo qui ibi erat.'

(*g*) Undoubtedly some adjectives, especially in *-ьnъ*, etymologically related to the p.p.p. in *-no* and in all respects their equals, also belong here, e.g.

*imeniti sąšte vъsěmi za dobrǫ dětělь*, Sup. 63, 18, 'cum celebrarentur ab omnibus propter virtutem';

*mnogymi ljuďьmi česteпъ i slavenъ*, Izv. 267, 'qui a multis hominibus colitur et celebratur.'[3]

§ 55. This is the usage of Slavic. The employment of datives to express the logical subject in impersonal sentences whose verbs are reflexive-passives must not be thought of as an infringement upon the province of the instrumental. OBg. *мънитъ mi sę δοκεῖ μοι*; *izvoli se mně ἔδοξέ μοι* 'mihi visum est,' Lk. 1, 3; or Russ. *mně dumajetsja* instead of *ja dumaju* 'puto'; *mně chočetsja*, 'volo'; *mně snilosь* 'somniabam,' etc. are like Germanic *es dünkt ihm, pótti sér*, where the dative in reality denotes the object towards which the action tends.

§ 56. Passing to Lithuanian we find there an instrumental case, which is even frequently employed, so *akimìs matŷti*, 'to see with eyes,' and farther back, in a sociative sense, *vežimù važiúoti*, 'to travel with a wagon.' At the same time a development similar to that in Slavic of the inst. of means into agency cannot be traced, because what few instances occur of the passive defined by a logical subject are expressed by means of the Genitive,[4] and in modern Lithuanian even with the preposition *nů*, 'from.' Thus,

[1] Potebnja, Izъ zapisokъ po r. gram.[2] I. u. II. 467, apud Vondrák, II. 350.

[2] Miklosich, IV. 704 f.

[3] Cf. Miklosich, IV. 704; Vondrák, II. 350.

[4] Schleicher, p. 273; Bezzenberger, *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. lit. Sprache*, Göttingen, 1877, p. 243.

*málka ugnìs suĕdama*, 'the wood is consumed by the fire';[1]
*plaukėlei vėjo puczami*, 'hair blown by the wind';
*pàstas karáliaus siųstas*, 'ambassador sent by the king';
*grómata manęs raszýta*, 'letter written by me';
*avìs liúto sudraskýta*, 'the lamb has been rent asunder by the lion';
*pažiurė̀, kàd jó arklỹs suėstas vìlko*, 'he saw that his horse was devoured by the wolf.'

§ 57. Two explanations are possible for this use of the genitive. **A**) That the genitive is of ablatival origin. As in Slavic, so in Lithuanian, too, the genitive is the recipient of the functions of I-E. ablative. For the Lithuanian this condition reaches back to the period of Balto-Slavic unity. However, the formal confusion of the two cases is I-E. in the sing. of all save the *-o* stems, where in both Slavic and Lithuanian the ablatival form has been preserved in both functions: Slav. *-a* < I-E. abl. *-ōd*; Lith. *-o* < I-E. abl. *-ōd*.[2] The genitive-agent may thus denote an earlier abl. of separation or origin. The fact of its present use exclusively with *nů*, as *jis yr nů karáliaus siųstas*, would point towards the probability of such a provenience; other examples may be found in Kurschat, p. 393, who believes that this use of *nů* in the sense of 'von' is a Germanism imported by bilingual Germans. *Tůgi neprissigaudinkite Hiskios*, 'do not be deceived by H.,' in Bezzenberger, p. 243, is a good example in support of the view which regards this construction as ablatival. Brugmann[3] has no positive opinion on this matter.

§ 58. **B**) On a firmer basis stands the conception of the genitive as one of possession, because it brings the Lithuanian in line with Indo-Iranian, Greek, and Germanic under similar conditions[4] except that in these languages the force of agency is less pronounced. Thus the formula **deiu̯osi̯o dətós* appears in: SANSKRIT — in *RV.* 10, 160, 4 *ánuspaṣṭō bhavaty ēṣó asya*, 'conspicitur ille ab eo, *eius*' or 'ei notus est ille'; *pátyuḥ krītā satī*, *M.* 1, 110, 11, 'the wife that is bought by the husband,' *i.e.* 'the purchased wife of the husband.'[5] — AVESTAN, *Y.* 34, 9, *θwahyā bərəxδąm vīdušō*, 'esteemed

[1] The examples are gathered *passim* from Kurschat, Bezzenberger, Schleicher, and Leskien-Brugman; cf. bibliography.

[2] Cf. Leskien, *OBg. Gr.* p. 109; Vondrák, II. p. 3; *Grdr.*[2] II. § 155.

[3] In Leskien-Brugman, p. 321, note.

[4] For the latter, cf. *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 170; *Grdr.*[2] II. § 513.

[5] Cf. Siecke, *de genitivi*, p. 28; *S.F.* V. 153; and Gaedicke, *Der Akkusativ*,

of him that knows thee,' *Y.* 11, 7, *pairiš.xᵛaxtəm ąyaŋhahe* is not really 'enclosed by iron,' but 'the enclosed of iron,' and *Vd.* 7, 29, *aiwiγnixta sūnō* is 'the gnawed of dogs.'[1] — GREEK has a similar adnominal genitive, σφαγεὺς Αἰγίσθου, Eur. *El.* 123, 'slain of A.'; σανδάλιον αὐτοῦ πεφορημένον, Herod. 'worn by him;' cf. also διόσδοτος, 'the presented of Zeus.'[2] — The same construction is probably seen in LATIN *ecquod est huius factum aut commissum non dicam audacius, pro Sull.* 26, 72, and Terence, *legati Romanorum, eius dicta, malivoli veteris poëtae male dictis, Andr.* prol. 7, where the p.p.p. is really substantival.[3] — GERMANIC has few of these genitives; so cf. Aelf. *So.* 171, 3, *gedo me lufiende & onfundne þines wisdomes.*[4] The modern German '*die Gesandten des Königs* (*unser Gesandter*)' and '*wir Geweihten des Schmerzes*' have their OHG. prototypes in Otfr. V. 20, 67, *giwihte mînes vater, gisegenôte sîne*, where the verbal nature of the participle is distinctly felt. — Accordingly, the LITHUANIAN genitive with the p.p.p. may safely be taken as adnominal. That a '*karáliaus siųstas*' is actually felt to be 'the king's messenger' is seen from examples like '*Bà katrė màno* [instead of '*nó manę̀*] *bùs supraszýti, tẽ bùs svecziù sùle pasodi̧ti*,'[5] 'who will be invited by me.'

§ 59. It is thus seen that the auctorial force of the adnominal genitive with participles is not due to any such force being inherent in the genitive itself, but that it is, rather, developed from the context, — a parallel, therefore, to the assumption of a similar tinge of agency by the dat. of interest. A short digression may be in place here concerning the probable interrelations of this *dat. auctoris* and the *genitivus possessivus* in question. According to Havers' investigations[6] the I-E. pronominal forms * *moi*, * *toi*, [* *soi*,] i.e. Sk. *mē*, *tē*, Avestan *mōi*, *tōi*, *hōi*, Greek μοι, τοι, [οἱ,] Latin *mī*, as in *mi pater*,[7] and * *ti*, as in O. L. genitives *mīs*, *tīs*, and also OBg. *mi*, *ti*, [*si*,] were originally not both dative and genitive forms, as

p. 42. "Das Prädikat paralysirt die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Genitivs, die Zugehörigkeit desselben zum Nomen, und lässt ihn den Instr., Dativ und Abl. vertreten."

[1] Cf. Reichelt, p. 259; Hübschmann, p. 270. [2] *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 170.

[3] Brugmann, *IF.* V. 136. [4] Wülfing, *Synt. of Ælfred*, II. 22.

[5] Leskien-Brugman, *Lit. Volkslieder u. Märchen*, p. 275.

[6] *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der idg. Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1911.

[7] The *mi* < *mihi* is different; cf. Stolz, *Lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre*⁴, 216; *Grdr.*² II. 406.

stated in *Grdr.*[2] II. § 312, but simply *sympathetic* datives[1] which in the course of time developed a possessive genitive function.

§ 60. Strangely enough, the *dat. auctoris* seems to be one of the main sources of this possessive use of the *dat. symp.* and therefore, indirectly, of the adnominal genitive, and this could have been all the more possible because of the fact that both the dat. symp. and the dat. auctoris originally appear only with personal pronouns. For the Latin dat. auctoris we have already indicated this condition (§ 45 b). Havers strikingly demonstrates it for the dat. symp., *Untersuchungen*, p. 237; so for Sanskrit, *ibid.* p. 44, Avestan, *ibid.* p. 60; the demonstrative pronoun in Homer must be considered an extension of the usage, *ibid.* p. 106. The transformation of the dat. auctoris into an adnominal sympathetic dative probably came about thru the adverbal pronominal dative separating itself from the verb, joining the substantive and ipso facto entering upon the road to an ultimate adnominal genitive. Thus:

SANSKRIT, *RV.* 10, 145, 2, adverbal dat. > symp. dat. in possessive sense, *sapátnīm mē párā dhama*, 'blow me the neighbor away'; in *RV. ibid.* 5, *ubhē . . . sapátnīm mē sahāvahāi*, 'we will both conquer *my* neighbor.' So

*RV.* 10, 151, 2 *priyám bhōjēṣu yájvasv idám ma uditā́m kṛdhi*, originally felt as 'spoken by me' might have become 'this my word,' and

*RV.* 1, 110, 1 *tatám mē ápas tád u tāyatē* is correctly given in *S.F.* V. 394 as '*gethan ist mein Werk.*'

GREEK, ε 243 θοῶς δέ οἱ ἤνυτο ἔργον, 'quickly was the work done by him > his work done'; τ 404 πολυάρητος δέ τοί ἐστι, 'he is much desired by you' > "*er ist dein Heissersehnter.*"[2]

LATIN, *mihi quidem aetas actast ferme*, Plaut. *Trin.* 319, where the dat. originally with the verb could be attached to '*aetas*'; *uritur cor mihi*, *Pers.* 800, equals *cor meum.*[3] Well known are the instances of '*alicui in mentem venire*' when really '*alicuius*' is meant and felt.

If then we believe, with Havers, that the dat. auct. was one of the sources of the possessive genitives **moi*, **toi*, (**soi*,) we can

[1] The term appears to be Gildersleeve's; also called *dat. possessivus*, Günther; *dynamicus* or *energicus*; lastly *dat. personae cui studium est*, Holtze.

[2] Havers, 74; cf. Vogrinz, *Gramm. d. homer. Dial.*, p. 305.

[3] Havers, p. 183.

surely go one step farther and declare that it was this same gen. poss. < dat. auct. which in conjunction with the p.p.p. gave rise to the gen. auctoris sc. possessivus that we have found in Indo-Iranian, Lithuanian, Greek, Latin, and Germanic; and that just as the dat. auctoris spread from pronouns to substantives, thru the medium of proper names, the genitivus poss.-auctoris must have experienced a similar change and arrived at that stage of development in which we have found it in Lithuanian and elsewhere.

## CHAPTER VI

### The Dative *and* Instrumental of Agency in Indo-Iranian

§ 61. Latin, aside from analytic constructions, expresses the agent with passives solely by means of the dative; Slavic knows only an instrumental of agency. It is to Sanskrit and Avestan that we must turn to obtain the only view of the simultaneous employment of both cases in the function of agency. That both expressions are independent of each other since the earliest period we have no cause to doubt, and we may take Sanskrit as well as Avestan as preserving that I-E. condition from which both Latin and Slavic have narrowed down to their own individual uses. But that there is observable from the very outset a thorogoing interrelation between the dat. and inst. in their several functions of agency is equally undeniable.

§ 62. Such coincidences have most likely arisen from purely semasiological connections. Possibly, too, we have the influence of another case, viz. the genitive of agency, to consider as an added impetus in this competition of the other two cases. If, for Sanskrit, we agree with Pischel[1] that the pronominal *asmé*, gen. [-dat.-loc.] plural is sometimes employed as an instrumental, so *RV.* 1, 165, 7; 7, 67, 2 and 7; 8, 2, 10; 8, 82, 6, and with Persson[2] that the Avestan gen. sg. *ma-na* contains the same suffix as inst. *tē-na*, then there is that much to be registered for the mediative offices of the genitive.[3] In addition, according to Wackernagel,[4] the sg. gen. *mē*, *tē* are found used as an instrumental in the first Delhi isc.

[1] *ZDMG.* 35, 174. [2] *IF.* II. 234.

[3] For the gen.-dat. relation cf. § 59 ff. Of Pischel's examples, Delbrück (*S.F.* V. 207, 381) is inclined to consider *asmé* in *RV.* 1, 165, 7, *yúṣmēbhir asmé* as genitive and in the rest as locatival. But surely in *RV.* 8, 2, 10 *imé ta indra sómās tīvrā́ asmé sutā́saḥ*, 'these sour Somas are pressed by us,' it is instrumental in sense, because of *RV.* 3, 47, 3 *sómam . . . sutám naḥ*, 'the Soma pressed by us,' lit. 'our pressed Soma'; also 7, 67, 2 *dśocy agníḥ samidhānó asmé*, 'there shone Agni lit by us,' because with participles in *-na* the agency is expressed by the instrumental and not also by the genitive (cf. Audouin, *Déclinaison*, p. 109) as with participles in *-ta* (cf. § 58).

[4] *KZ.* 24, 599.

of Aśoka, *Saḍḍavīsati vasa abhisitēna mē iyaṃ dhaṃmaliṕi likhāpitā*.[1] — In Avestan *mē* and *tē* when seemingly instrumental may always be interpreted as datives, as *Yt.* 5, 77, *yaṯ mē avavaṯ daēvayasnanąm niǰatəm*, 'dass von mir so viele D. erschlagen worden sind,' Reichelt, p. 241, comparable to *yahmāi xšnūtō*, *Yt.* 10, 87, 'by whom he is satisfied.'[2]

**Sanskrit.** § 63. **The dative of agency** as such is not mentioned in Pāṇini;[3] evidently he considered it but one of the natural functions of the *saṃpradāna* or dative case, 1, 4, 32. The instrumental denotes the agent, *kartṛ*, unless it be already expressed by the verb, and the instrument, *karaṇa*, as well, 2, 3, 18, *dēvadattēna kṛtam*, 'done by D.,' *dātrēṇa lunāti*, 'he cuts with a sickle.' It may denote the agent only with a passive or a causative verb; with an active verb the agent is contained in the termination of the verb itself; so *dēvadattēna kriyatē*, 'it is done by D.,' and *pācayaty ōdanaṃ dēvadattēna* 'he has porridge cooked by D.' Another reference is 2, 3, 71 as to the agent's appearance with the participium necessitatis either in inst. or in gen., so *bhavatā* or *bhavataḥ kaṭaḥ kartavyaḥ* 'you must make a mat.' — Examples for the dative usage follow.

§ 64. The dative of agency appears

(*a*) With verbal adjectives in *-ya*, sometimes called gerundives or partic. necessitatis.[4] *The dative is really one of interest, but has the force of an agent.*

*RV.* 1, 33, 2 *yáḥ stōtṛ́bhyō hávyō ástī yā́man*, 'he who is to be invoked by the singers at the sacrifice, an object of invocation to the s.';

1, 75, 4 (and 1, 189, 7; 3, 62, 1, etc.) *sákhibhya ī́ḍyaḥ*, 'to be honored by the friends';

4, 5, 8 *pravā́cyaṃ vácasaḥ kíṃ mē asyá*, 'what is to be said by me of this talk?'

(*b*) Verbal adjectives in *-ā́yya*.[5]

*RV.* 2, 4, 3 *dakṣā́yyō yó dā́śvatē dáma ā́*, 'he who is to be satisfied by the sacrificer in the house';

[1] *Corp. Iscc. Indic.* I. 106. [2] Cf. Hübschmann, p. 223.

[3] Pāṇini's *Grammatik*, Böhtlingk, Leipzig, 1887, and Liebich, *BB.* 10, 207 ff.; 11, 273 ff.

[4] Cf. Delbrück, *KZ.* 18, 90; *S.F.* V. 396; *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 143; *Grdr.*[2] II. § 491; Havers, *op. cit.* pp. 9, 14, 22. [5] *S.F.* V. 400; *KZ.* 18, 90.

6, 69, 5 *índravāviṣnu tát panajā́yyaṃ vā́m*, 'this is to be praised by you both.'

(*c*) Verbal adjectives in *-tva*.[1]

*RV.* 2, 30, 10 *vīryà kṛdhi yā́ni tē kártvāni*, 'accomplish the deeds which thou hast to accomplish';
4, 18, 2 *bahū́ni mē ákṛtā kártvāni*, 'much undone is to be done by me'; could also come under (*d*).

(*d*) With past participles in *-ná* and *-tá*,

*RV.* 10, 17, 13 *yás tē drapsáḥ skannáḥ*, 'which drop is spilled by you.'[2]

For *-ta* Delbrück cites only *RV.* 1, 110, 1, but this is really an example of the adnominal genitive, cf. § 60. Additional examples are, however, besides 4, 18, 2 *q.v.* above,

*RV.* 6, 18, 15 *ákṛtaṃ yát tē ásti*, 'what you have not yet accomplished';
6, 61, 13 *vibhvánē kṛtó*, 'von einem geschickten Werkmeister gemacht'; cf. § 37 note;
7, 46, 3 *yā́ tē didyúd ávasṛṣṭā divás pári*, 'which thunderbolt was hurled by you from the sky';
8, 77, 9 *ētā́ cyāutnā́ni tē kṛtā́*, 'these gigantic deeds have been performed by you';
10, 151, 2 *idā́m ma uditā́ṃ kṛdhi*, 'effect that this be uttered by me.'[3]

(*e*) Delbrück also declares[4] that he cannot find this dative with a finite passive verb, *RV.* 10, 65, 4, *dēvā́ḥ stavantē mā́nuṣāya*, 'the gods are praised by men,' being regarded as doubtful both by him and Oldenberg.[5] But with Havers, p. 10, one must consider *RV.* 7, 76, 2, *prá mē pánthā dēvayā́nā ādṛśran*, 'erblickt wurden von mir die gottbetretenen Pfade,' a certain example; similarly *RV.* 1, 175, 1, *mátsy ápāyi tē mádaḥ*, 'be merry, thou hast emptied the intoxicating drink."[6] Likewise 8, 51, 9 *túbhyam pávīravy ajyatē*

[1] No instances cited in *S.F.* V.
[2] Cf. *S.F.* V. 382.
[3] Cf. Havers, *op. cit.* p. 14.
[4] *Vgl. Synt.* I. 300 and *S.F.* V. 145.
[5] *Ṛgveda. Textkrit. u. exeget. Noten. Abh. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Cl.* N.F. XI. 5, p. 406.
[6] Cited by Gaedicke, *Der Akkusativ*, p. 42.

*rajiḥ*, "dir wird beim Pavīru Reichthum geführt = du führst dem P. Reichthum zu," Gaedicke, p. 134.[1]

Perhaps 8, 26, 16 *yuvābhyām bhūtv aśvinā* may be classified here, cf. Havers, p. 14, because the context does not warrant Grassmann's "Es sei eur eigen, Ritter ihr," I. 439 as the sole possible rendering.

§ 65. In two articles, written in 1906 and 1907 respectively, Professor Hopkins attempts to disprove the present accepted version of the Vedic dative as originally a purely grammatical case of interest, cf. § 13 ff., and seeks to vindicate for it a local or directive force.[2] His contention is of special importance in that one of his arguments relates to the old objection Gaedicke and Hübschmann raised to the dative as local on the ground that, as they pointed out, the *dat. sympatheticus, ethicus* etc. and the *dat. auctoris* could never have developed from such a concept. According to Hopkins, Delbrück admits, *S.F.* V. 145, that the agent dative is not combined with finite passive verbs. "There remains only the adjectival gerundive, which Delbrück still holds to be construed with an agent dative in its most primitive use. . . . But it will be found that the rôle of the dative in connection with these and similar adjectives is normally not that of an agent."[3] Moreover the examples cited in *S.F.* V. 396 and 401 with *hávya*, *íḍya* and *dakṣáyya* are incorrect, because the gerundive should be taken absolutely. Besides, of the gerundives thus given *hávya* is found with the inst. of agency 4 times, with the inst. of means 2 times; it is also found with the genitive of the person, and with the ablative absolute; 4 times with a dative which, however, depends upon an accompanying verb, and only 3 times as apparent agent, viz. *RV.* 8, 96, 21; 10, 39, 10; 1, 33, 2. But of these, *sákhibhyas* in the eighth book, he finds, depends on the verb, and the other two instances are respectively in the first and tenth books in hymns belonging to the secondary stage. The question with respect to

[1] This passage is given by Aufrecht, II. 156, from whom Gaedicke, cf. p. 40, appears to cite his examples, as *tirás cid aryé ruśame párīravi túbhyét só ajyate rayíḥ*, and in Bloomfield's *Concordance*, p. 429 and 432 as *tiraçcid arye ruçame parīravi tubhyet so ajyate rayiḥ*. Pavīru, according to Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index*, London, 1912, I. 509, "appears in a hymn of the Rigveda, viii. 51, 9, as a Ruśama, being a prince or at least a wealthy noble." Cf. Grassmann, *Wb. s.v.* pávīru and *Übers.* 502, "Der Reichthum, . . ., der wird heimlich von dir dem treuen Ruçama Pavīru zugeführt."

[2] *TrAPA.* 37, 87 ff. and *JAOS.* 28, 360 ff. [3] *TrAPA.* 37, 109.

*íḍya* is similar, the most certain examples being in the first and ninth books. *Sákhā sákhibhyas* is a stereotyped phrase, 'friend to friend,' and the clauses it is in should not be separated by Delbrück into *sákhibhya íḍyas*.

§ 66. Professor Hopkins' conclusion thus is that neither of these two gerundives can stand as an early example of a gerundive with the dative-agent. In fact, the latter arises from a wrong way of looking at the gerundive, and "the agent-dative [a construction not found in Sanskrit, where the gerundive takes either instrumental or genitive] is due partly to native imitation of older forms without understanding and partly to modern interpretation of what was not originally conceived of as agent."[1]

§ 67. In reply, it must be noted that Professor Hopkins himself does not deny the existence of some instances at least of the dat.-agent with gerundives, certain to all intents and purposes.[2] The only trouble with them is that they suffer in numerical comparison with the absolute uses and the instrumental connections of *hávya* and *íḍya*. Hopkins himself admits[3] that his data do not altogether disprove the interpretation advocated by Delbrück. This fact, combined with his choosing the use of the dat.-commodi-auctoris with the gerundive as a criterion, and reducing such evidence to nil in order to disprove the early existence *at all* of the dative in auctorial function, detracts much from the force of his argumentation. Surely the employment of the dative with past participles in *-tá* and *-ná*, to all intents proethnic, cf. § 37, must have antedated the use of the dative with such a specialized form as the gerundive. Moreover, the verbal adjectives in *-tva* also appear combined with the dative-agent, cf. § 64 c. Lastly, in spite of Delbrück's admission, there *are* found, besides those in Gaedicke that seem to be inacceptable, some examples of the dative of agency with finite passive verbs, cf. § 64 e. Strong collateral testimony is offered, furthermore, by the results of Havers' investigations, as given before. For, if the genitive of possession was to have evolved, partly at least, from a personal dative-agent, the former being found simultaneously with the latter, — the stages of transition being still visible,[4] — it stands to reason that the latter must have chronologically preceded it.[5] So much for the dative of agency.

[1] *TrAPA.* 37, 110. [2] *JAOS.* 28, pp. 371, 372, 373.
[3] *TrAPA.* 37, 110. [4] Havers, *op. cit.* p. 22 *et al.*
[5] Cf. also Speyer, *VuSS.* § 46, "Wie im Skt. der Dativ I sein Gebiet mit dem

§ 68. **The Instrumental of Agency.** — The same plan may be followed as in the instance of Slavic in the visualization of the various gradations leading upwards from the sociative function. It must once more be emphasized, however, that while highly probable and certainly acceptable as mirroring actual facts, such a scheme nevertheless is theoretical in character, because when we first encounter the sociative in its diverse types we find them all existing side by side; Brugmann then is justified in asserting that "alle acht Gruppen dürften als schon uridg. nebeneinander vorhanden angesehen werden."[1]

(*a*) Pure concomitation; the use of concurrent prepositions like *saha, sākam* is not the rule until post-Vedic prose,[2] but see Pāṇini 2, 3, 19.

*RV.* 1, 1, 5 *dēvṓ dēvébhir á gamat*, 'deus cum dis adveniat.'

(*b*) Equivalent to "with the aid of,"

*RV.* 9, 103, 2 *índrēṇa*, or 7, 48, 2 *índrēṇa yujấ*, 'with Indra as a companion, Indro iuvante.'

So in mentioning vehicles or other means of communication both "*with*" and "*by means of which*" are admissible,

*RV.* 5, 58, 6 *yát prấyāsiṣṭha pṛṣatībhir áśvair, viḷupavíbhir marutō ráthēbhiḥ*, 'when ye approach, O Maruts, with the piebald steeds, stallions, with the stout-tired chariots';

a curious transition is offered in

1, 123, 5 *jáyēma tám dákṣiṇayā ráthēna*, "in wollen wir besigen mit dem wagen [farend.]"[3]

(*c*) The wide-spread instrumental of means is found with passive expressions also, (1) of objects,

Gen. teilen muss, so giebt es auch einzelne Gebietsteile, welche er an diesen concurrenten Casus unwiderbringlich verloren hat. In solchen Fällen hat nur das Vedische den alten Dativ, wie α) zum Ausdruck des Agens bei dem Gerundiv, nur im M. [*Mantra*] vgl. *AIS* [Delb.] 396; schon B. [*Brāhmaṇa*] hat hier den Gen., nie den Dativ."

[1] *Gr. Gr.*[3] 407. For the examples following see Wenzel, *Über den Instrumentalis im Rigveda*, p. 21 ff.; *ALI.* p. 50 ff.; *S.F.* V. § 83 ff.; Speyer, *VuSS.* § 32 ff.; *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 104 ff.; *Grdr.*[2] II. § 476 ff.

[2] Cf. *VuSS.* § 32 Anm.

[3] Wenzel, *op. cit.* p. 63, but otherwise Griffith: "may we subdue him with our car the guerdon."

*RV.* 1, 35, 4 *abhívṛtaṃ kṛśanaiḥ*, 'all adorned with pearls';
9, 109, 15 *píbanty asya viśvé dēvā́sō gṓbhiḥ śrītásya*, 'cooked with milk.'

(2) of things personified,

1, 164, 14 *sū́ryasya cákṣū rájasaity āvṛtaṃ*, 'the sun's eye thru the clouds covered';
4, 17, 12 *vā́tō ná jū́tāḥ stanáyadbhir abhraíḥ*, 'as the wind driven on by thundering clouds.'

(*d*) Persons are employed as means,

*víśvaṃ sṓ agnē jayati tváyā dhánam*, 'he attains thru thee, Agni, all good.'[1]

(*e*) The instrumental of agency may have been produced from the inst. of means with the active solely along the line indicated by Delbrück, "so dass man zuerst gesagt hätte: *çásyáte vácobhiḥ* er erfährt Preis, wird gepriesen mit Worten, dann *çásyáte kavíbhiḥ* durch die Sänger."[2] So Brugmann, "Ist das Verbum ein Passivum, so kann im Instrumental auch eine Sache auftreten, die weniger als Mittel denn als die den Vorgang bewirkende und hervorrufende Potenz vorgestellt ist, wie 'er wird mit Liedern gepriesen' = 'Lieder preisen ihn.' . . . Dies führte im Arischen und im Slavischen dazu, auch die handelnde Person beim Passiv in den Instrumental zu setzen."[3] The probabilities are, however, that, as we have indicated before, § 54 *e*, this inst. of agency was first employed with the past participles in *-ná* and *-tá*.

*RV.* 1, 163, 2 *yamé́na dattáḥ*, 'given by Yama';
9, 87, 1 *nṛ́bhiḥ punānáḥ*, 'purified by the men';
8, 62, 18 *kṛṣnáyā bādhitā́ viśā́*, 'sore pressed by the black horde.'

The instrumental is found with the gerundive also, where we have already ascertained the coexistent use of the dative and the adnominal genitive as well. With regard to the latter, as a rule the inst. is required if the verbal sense prevail, but the gen. if the *kṛtya* has the value of an adjective. This is evident from the fact that the subjective genitive is used in similar situations, if the *kṛtya* has the value of a substantive (§ 69, *VuSS.*). For the inst. with *íḍya* and *hávya* cf. Hopkins, *JAOS.* 28, 371 ff.

[1] Found in *Grdr.*[2] II. p. 526. [2] *S.F.* V. 135. [3] *Grdr.*[2] II. p. 527.

(*f*) With finite passive verbs,

*RV.* 1, 92, 7 *diváḥ stavē duhitā́ gṓtamēbhiḥ*, 'the daughter of D. is praised by the Gotamas';

9, 86, 12 *sṓtṛ́bhiḥ pūyatē vṛ́ṣā*, 'is purified by the worshipers';

7, 67, 7 *uṣā́ ribhyatē vásiṣṭhāiḥ*, 'is praised by the V.'

The inst. of means and of agency side by side in

*RV.* 9, 87, 7 *tváṃ mṛjanti dáśa yṓṣaṇaḥ sutám sṓma ṛ́ṣibhir matíbhir dhītíbhir hitám*, 'accelerated by the priests thru devotion and prayer.'

§ 69. The results of the mutual relations of Dative and Instrumental are thus as follows,

With the past participles, both dat. and inst. occur;

With the gerundive in *-ya*, ditto;

With verbal adjectives in *-ā́yya* and *-tva*, only dat.;

With finite passive verbs, both dat. and instrumental.

**Avestan.** § 70. Here the development is similar to that of Sanskrit. The dative, while it is lost in Old Persian, save as to the pron. suff. *maiy, taiy, šaiy*, and replaced thruout by the genitive as in Prākrit, is a favorite case in Avestan. Following are the facts with respect to the dat. commodi in the function of agency.[1]

**The dative of agency** appears with (*a*) the perfect participle in *-ta*; cf. § 37.

*Yt.* 17, 58 *yā aom puθrəm baraiti anyahmāi aršānāi varštəm paiθē upabaraiti*, 'who bears a child that is begotten by [to] another man and exposes it upon the highway';

5, 77 *yaṯ mē avavaṯ daēvayasnanąm niǰatəm yaθa . . .*, 'that so many Deva-worshipers have been slain by me;'

*Y.* 43, 10 *pərəsāčā nå̊ yā tōi āhmā parštā*, 'et interroga nos quae tibi sumus interrogandi,' Barth. *Wb.* 878.

An example in Old Persian is XII, 3, *utā tyaʰmaiy kartam*, 'and what was done by me,' against a possess. gen. *tyaʰ manā kartam*, 'mein Gethanes,' Bh. iv, 42 f.[2]

[1] Cf. Reichelt, p. 241; Hübschmann, p. 223; Havers, p. 52; *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 143; *Grdr.*[2] II. § 491.

[2] Hübschmann, p. 299; Havers, p. 52; cf. also L. H. Gray's note on Tolman, *AJP.* 30, 1909, p. 457.

(*b*) Also in periphrastic passives with '*bav*,' 'to become,' so

*Yt.* 10, 87 *yahmāi xšnūtō bavaiti, yahmāi ϑbištō bavaiti*, 'by whom he is satisfied, injured';[1]

and with finite passives,

*Y.* 44, 11 *azəm tōi āiš paouruyē fravōivīdē*, 'I was selected by, *i.e.* for, you for this from the beginning.'[2]

(*c*) With the part. necessitatis,

*V.* 6, 32 *vasō aiwišxᵛarēϑa pasubya vīraēibya*, 'für [von] Vieh und Menschen nach Wunsch zu geniessen,' Hübschmann, p. 223;

*Y.* 19, 11 *aētaṯča nō vačō frāvaoče sixšaēmča*[3] *hišmāirīmča yaϑana kahmāičiṯ hāṯąm* — 'and this our word has been spoken to be learned and considered by every one of living beings,' Reichelt, p. 334.

(*d*) With the verbal in *-tva*,

*Yt.* 13, 153 *tāča vohū . . . yā frāyašaϑwa naire ašaone*, 'and the good things that are to be revered by the righteous man,' *i.e.* 'are for him to be revered.'

Thus, Avestan likewise offers a parallel to what we have conceived to be the development of the dative of interest into one of agency, appearing first with the p.p.p., then, or almost simultaneously, with other verbals, and finally with the finite verb after the creation of the passive. — A curious point of resemblance is that, whereas we have first met the genitive with the p.p.p. in an 'adnominal' relation, § 58 ff., we find in Avestan the later and natural development of an 'adverbal' genitive with the finite passive itself, so

*Yt.* 13, 50 *kahe nō iδa nąmā āγairyāṯ kahe vō urva frāyezyāṯ*, 'by whom will now our name be praised, by which of you our soul revered?'[4]

[1] Reichelt, p. 330; Bartholomae, *Wb.* 929.

[2] Bartholomae, *Wb.* col. 1319, and *Ar. Forsch.* 2, 174. For the form of the verb cf. Reichelt, § 614.

[3] From *sixšaya*, PFP. of *saṯ*, adj. "was zu lernen ist, discendus," Bthl. *Wb.* 1580.

[4] Cf. Reichelt, p. 259, note, and for the form of the verb, p. 299.

§ 71. **The Instrumental of Agency.** — Its development might thus be portrayed:[1]

(*a*) Pure concomitation; in Old Persian the analytic expression with prepositions is the rule. The verb itself may contain the idea, as

*Y.* 32, 2 *sārəmnō vohū manaŋhā*, 'united with V. M.'; or otherwise,

*Y.* 46, 10 *tāiš vīspāiš činvatō frafrā pərətūm*, 'with all these I will cross the Cinvat Bridge.'

(*b*) Means of locomotion,

*Yt.* 10, 67 *yō vāša mainyu ham tāšta . . . fravazaitē*, 'who rides forth with a steed made by the spirit';

*V.* 13, 161 *pairitaxtō paurvaēibya*, 'running forward on, *i.e.* with, the front paws.'

(*c*) Whereas the sociative use, as expressed by the pure instrumental form, is in decadence, the instrumental of means, soon to pass over into the prepositional construction in Old Persian,[2] is preserved in its entirety in Avestan. I mention but one example of this type which is to be found in almost all languages, viz. 'to bind with iron fetters,' from Spiegel, p. 426.

*Vd.* 4, 147, *ayaŋhaēnāiš fšōbīš azdibīš paiti ava.pašāṯ*, 'with iron fetters should one bind his body.'

Cf. Barth. *Wb.* 1029. For rivalry on the part of the genitive of agency, cf. Hübschmann, 277, as in

*Vd.* 7, 74 *hakərət frasnāδayən maēsmana gəuš hakərəṯ zəmō uzdāθayən hakərəṯ āpō frasnāδayən*, 'they are to wash it once with the urine [inst.] of a cow, once treat it with earth [gen.] and once wash it with water [gen.].' Cf. also *Vd.* 8, 37.

(*d*) Persons used as means,

*Y.* 44, 3 *kō yā mā uxšyēiti nərəfsaitī*, 'who is it thru whom the moon waxes and wanes?'

*Y.* 44, 5 *kō yā ušā arəm.piθwā xšapāčā*, 'thru whom are the dawn, the midday and the eventide?' So *Y.* 41, 4.

[1] Cf. Hübschmann, p. 254; Reichelt, p. 232; Spiegel, p. 423.
[2] Cf. Hübschmann, p. 298.

(*e*) The inst. of means with the past participle is evidently the precursor of the inst. of agency with the past participle as well as with the gerundive in *-ya*; so, cf. § 37,

*Yt.* 5, 93 *daxšta daxštavanta*, 'mit dem Zeichen gezeichnet,' Reichelt;

*Y.* 43, 10 *parštəm zī θwā*, 'interrogatum enim a te,' Bthl. *Wb.* 997;

*Yt.* 10, 38 *frazinte anašitå maēθanyå*, 'the houses not inhabited by posterity'; Hübschmann, p. 261; cf. Bthl. *Wb.* 1706, s.v. *šay*.

*Y.* 31, 1 *agušlā vačå sənghāmahī aēibyō*, "words heard not by those wicked men."[1]

For the gerundive cf.

*Vd.* 3, 24 *yā karšya karšivata*, 'that is to be plowed by the plowman.'

(*f*) With finite passives,

*Y.* 29, 4 *yā zī vāvərəzōi daēvāišča mašyāišča*, 'which have been carried out by Daēvas and men';

32, 12 *yāiš grəhmā ašāt*[2] *varatā*, 'by whom G. and his followers were preferred to Aša';

43, 11 *hyaṯ xšmā uxδāiš dīdaiθhē*, 'when I was taught the proverbs by you.' Cf. also *Y.* 43, 6; 50, 5 etc.

If Spiegel's translation of D 3, "Hochbau von Stein, durch einen Clangenossen des Königs Darius ausgeführt" is correct, then we would find a prepositionless inst. of agency even in Old Persian, 64 L *ardastâna âthañgaina Dârayavahush naqahyâ vithiyā*, apud Hübschmann, p. 298, and given in Bthl. *Wb.* 193 as *ardastāna*$^{k}$ *aθa*$^{n}$*gaina*$^{k}$ *dāraya*$^{k}$*vahauš viθiyā karta*$^{k}$.[3]

§ 72. In Avestan, too, Dative and Instrumental meet in the function of agency, viz. both are found with the past participles in

[1] Cf. p. 3 of A. V. W. Jackson's *A Hymn of Zoroaster, Yasna* 31, Stuttgart, 1888; also p. 17 of the unpublished proofsheets of his *Sketch of Avestan Grammar*, II., in type in 1892, accessible to me thru the kindness of Professor Jackson. For the same view cf. Bthl. *Wb.* 49, as against Bthl.'s own former opinion in § 55, 2 of *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*.

[2] Ablative, Bthl. *Wb.* 1361.

[3] Cf. also Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, 1909, p. 36, Dar. Pers. c.

*-ta*, with gerundives in *-ya*, and with the finite verb in the passive. As all these uses occur simultaneously from early beginnings, contaminations of one case by the other, if any have taken place, cannot be traced chronologically. But from what we have seen of the possibility of individual developments on the part of both dative and instrumental, such assumption is neither desirable nor necessary. The state of affairs is different, however, in the languages which are discussed in the next chapters.

## CHAPTER VII

### The Dative-Instrumental of Agency in Greek

§ 73. As indicated in § 27, Greek does not possess two separate case-forms for the dative and the instrumental, and the functions of both are discharged by a case-form called dative, which in the singular is partly datival, partly locatival in origin, in the plural partly locatival, *ποσί*, partly instrumental, *ἵπποις*; so that *νηΐ* is loc.-dat.-inst. in function, cf. Sk. *nāvi, nāvé, nāvā́;* Attic *λύκῳ* is dat. as well as instrumental [as the petrified forms *ἅμα, πεδά, παρά*] and locatival [as *οἴκοι, domi*], cf. Sk. *vṛ́kāya, vṛ́kā, vṛ́kē;* *ἵπποις* stands for inst.-dat.-loc., cf. Sk. *vṛ́kāiṣ, vṛ́kēbhyas, vṛ́kēṣu;* *νανσί* for locative (as *Ἀθήνησι*), dat. and inst., cf. Sk. *nāuṣú, nāubhyás, nāubhiṣ*.[1] Consequently in instances where both a dative and an instrumental function are conceivable, it is extremely difficult to decide between them. This is especially true of the dative of agency, since it might often represent an original instrumental. "In diesem Gebrauche," says Brugmann, "hatten sich Dativ und Instrumentalis berührt, und sie sind öfters schwer gegen einander abzugrenzen."[2]

§ 74. As to the opinions of grammarians, I do not find anything pertinent in Apollonius Dyscolus, altho he mentions the fact that *τά γε μὴν πλαγίαν ἀπαιτοῦντα πάντως καὶ εἰς παθητικὴν ⟨τὴν ἐνεργητικὴν⟩ διάθεσιν μεταστήσειεν, συμπαραλαμβανομένης γενικῆς μετὰ τῆς ὑπό προθέσεως . . . καὶ αὕτη μὲν μόνη ἐστὶν τῶν παθητικῶν ἡ σύνταξις*.[3] Modern writers are, in general, divisible into two camps, the majority being in favor of the interpretation of the Greek *dativus auctoris* as pure *dat. commodi*, while the minority give due recognition to the instrumental ingredients of the construction.

§ 75. Kühner[4] says "Da der Dativ überhaupt den persönlichen Gegenstand bezeichnet, der bei einer Handlung betheiligt ist, und

[1] Brugmann, *Krz. Vgl. Gr.* II. § 531. [2] *Gr. Gr.*[2] 209.

[3] P. 404, 2[2] *Grammatici Graeci*, Ap. Dyscoli *Περι Συνταξεως Βιβλια Τεσσαρα*, ed. Schneider et Uhlig, Leipzig, 1910.

[4] *Ausführliche Grammatik d. griech. Sprache*[2], 1870, II. 368.

zwar so, dass er bei der auf denselben gerichteten Handlung des Subjekts zugleich selbst als thätig und persönlich entgegenwirkend erscheint; so drückt die Sprache die thätige Person beim Passive häufig und bei den Verbaladjektiven auf τός und τέος welche passive Bedeutung haben, regelmässig durch den Dativ aus." Kühner-Gerth[1] admits "ebenso berührt sich beim Passiv der Dativ der thätigen, beteiligten Person mit dem Instrumentalis des Mittels." Like Riemann-Goelzer,[2] to whom the dative-agent is "la personne pour laquelle telle ou telle action est, sera, a été un fait accompli," so K. W. Krüger[3] sharply differentiates between the instrumental or '*dynamic*' dative[4] and the dat. of persons with passives which he considers a dat. possessivus. So, too, Hirt, without reference to an instrumental component of the dative.[5] For Brugmann, however, cf. § 73, and also *Gr.Gr.*[3] p. 400 ff.

§ 76. As against the foregoing, we find, as early as 1829, Bernhardy speaking of the instrumental constituents of the Greek dative and describing the personal datives with passives, like ἀποκέκριταί μοι, as instrumental.[6] So, too, W. E. Jelf,[7] "the logical subject of the impersonal verbal adjectives, the agent or person by whom the verbal operation is to be performed, stands in the instrumental dative, as in the passive voice." More recently, R. Wagner[8] under the '*Dativ als Instrumentalis*,' "Auch der gewöhnlich als Dat. des Interesses erklärte Dat. das tätigen Individuums beim Passivum wird, wie der des Arischen und Slavischen, vielmehr hier einzuordnen sein: ἐμοὶ πολεμητέον ἐστίν heisst 'mit meinen Mitteln an Kraft ist zu kämpfen,' πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποίηται, nicht 'alles ist für uns = von uns,' sondern 'mit unsern Mitteln an Kraft geschehen.'" This would agree with Delbrück's indication[9] of § 434 in Curtius' *Schulgrammatik*[4], — which is "die tätige person beim passiv," as belonging to the functions of the instrumental dative.

§ 77. Each side has its own justification. Working *à priori* from the undoubted existence of an I-E. instrumental; from the existence, also, of one of its functional types denoting agency with passives; and, then, from the subsequent historical fusion in Greek

[1] *Gramm.*[3] II. 1. (1898) § 422, 4.
[2] *Gram. comp. du grec et du latin*, 1897, p. 248.
[3] *Attische Syntax*[4], 1862, § 48, 15. [4] To which cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* I. 2, 46.
[5] *Handbuch*, p. 227. [6] *Wissenschaftliche Grammatik*, p. 103.
[7] *A Grammar of the Greek Language*[2], Oxf. 1851, ed.[4] 1866, § 613, 5.
[8] In Freund's *Triennium Philologicum* 2[1], 1908, p. 147. [9] *ALI.* p. 73.

of that I-E. instrumental with the dative, one would be inclined to reduce all Greek datives of agency to an original instrumental. Such a stand, however, would be as false as that view which, satisfied with the mere disguise of instrumental functions under a 'dative' garb, would without further ado class such instrumental datives under genuine dative usages. This is one of the situations where a well-meant '*Io non posso*' is preferable to a presumptuous dictum. Follows a tentative reconstruction of a few probable facts in this vein.

§ 78. This so-called dative of agency may be used in three different ways, viz.:

(*a*) with verbal adjectives in *τός*,

*τοῖς οὐκ ἐξιτόν ἐστιν*, 'quibus non licet exire,' Hes. *Theog.* 732;

(*b*) with verbal adjectives in *-τέος*,

*οὔ σφι περιοπτέη ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπολλυμένη*, 'they must not permit Hellas to perish,' Herodot. 7, 168;

(*c*) with finite passive verbs, mostly in the perfect tenses,

*ἂν τοῦτο νικῶμεν, πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποίηται*, 'everything has been accomplished by us,' Xen. *An.* 1, 8, 12.

These three ways will now be discussed in detail.

**The Verbal in -τός.** § 79. The Greek suffix *-τός* is the same as the participial suffixes Latin *-tus*, Sk. *-tás*, Avestan *-ta-*, Slavic *-to-*, Lith. *-tas*, Germanic *-đá*; so that, for instance,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gk. *κλυτός* ~ | Sk. *śrutás* ~ | Lat. *in-clutus* | |
| *βατός* | *gatás* | *ventus* | < **gu̯emtós*; |

in Greek, however, *-τός* did not come to take the place of the past participle in just such a degree as in the other languages and remained a verbal, developing very early a nuance of possibility.[1] It does not seem to have possessed a distinction of voice at the beginning of the specifically Greek period, cf. Plato *πλανητός errans*, altho its employment as a p.p.p., like Sk. *uktás* in both passive and perfect sense, must have been quite prevalent, because of the extension to the domain of derivative verbs, as *ὠνητός purchased*,

[1] *ἄλυτος, indissolūbilis* > *λυτός solūtus* and *dissolūbilis*, cf. *Gr. Gr.*[3] 200; *Grdr.*[2] II. p. 207.

δοκητός *manufactured*, ἀγαπητός *beloved*, etc. How closely allied these two ideas were is seen in the readiness with which the verbal lent itself to being made a p.p.p. in Latin.

§ 80. Delbrück[1] states that in combination with the dative-agent the verbal -τός to denote agency is found first in Hesiod. However, cf. Ω 620 πολυδάκρυτος δέ τοι ἔσται, 'much lamented by you,' or τ 404 πολυάρητος δέ τοί ἐστι, 'much desired by you.' Beginning with Hesiod, however,[2] it is a regular combination. So,

S. *Ph.* 33 στειπτή γε φυλλάς, ὡς ἐναυλίζοντί τῳ, 'crushed as if by some one resting on them';
Xen. *An.* 3, 4, 29 εὐεπίδεκτον ἦν τοῖς πολεμίοις;
Xen. *Cyr.* 3, 2, 25 τοῖς ἄλλοις ταῦτ' εὐκτὰ εἴη.

§ 81. What this dative represents cannot be decided directly by the testimony of the related languages. Latin dative balances against Slavic instrumental [with p.p.p. in -*mъ*], and Indo-Iranian is non-committal because of the presence of both. I venture to think of the dative as the original case in this connection, with the verbal denoting that the deed accomplished was at the disposal of some one. Such a dative of personal interest with a verbal denoting completion may easily be conceived as one of the most primitive locutions, certainly antedating all idea of passivity, and more primitive at all events than the comparatively complex and sophisticated notion of an instrumental of personal agency, as distinct from and more advanced than the equally primitive instrumental of material means. That the latter was bound in time to develop into personal agency, we have noted before. That it developed so after the use of the dative with the p.p. was established, we cannot of course demonstrate chronologically, since at the earliest moment we find in Indo-Iranian both expressions of agency existing side by side. Possibly a careful analysis of the respective number of instances in relation to the comparative antiquity of the documents, on the basis of such indications as Ch. III. and X. of Arnold's *Vedic Metre in its Historical Development*, Cambridge, 1905, and in Avestan by the testimony of the Gāθās (cf. Reichelt, p. 9), might throw a faint light on the primitive connections between the two cases. Here, however, we must content ourselves with remarking that a simple statement of individual personal interest,

[1] *Vgl. Synt.* II. 484. [2] Cf. *Theog.* 732, above.

one nearest to the primitive man's mental make-up, in a deed accomplished by him, probably antedates an idea at which he in all probability could arrive only after a relatively complicated process involving a transition from material to personal considerations, from an active to a passive mode of thinking. '*Pitṛ́bhir dattáḥ*,' to my mind, represents a considerable and significant advance over '*mē kṛtam*.' It must be added at once that, should this reasoning be applied not to the earlier but to the later stages of I-E. which, far from being primitive, presupposes an already prolonged development of the instrumental, an admixture of the force of the latter can easily be imagined.

§ 82. For Greek itself such a blending of the two case-forces must actually be postulated, if for no other reason, then surely because of the historical fact of a dative-instrumental amalgamation. Significant in this connection is the use of instrumental datives of the type described by Brugmann as "die den Vorgang bewirkende und hervorrufende *Potenz*" (Grdr.[2] II. p. 527) with this same verbal in expressions of possibility, as

I 526 δωρητοί τ' ἐπέλοντο παράρρητοί τε ἔπεσσιν, 'how he by gifts was softened and soothed by accents due,' and

N 323 χαλκῷ τε ῥηκτὸς μεγάλοισί τε χερμαδίοισι, 'who may by brass be wounded or huge stones flung afar'; so Φ 568.[1]

**The Verbal in -τέος.** § 83. Ascoli's view[2] that the form originates in *-τιο [ἐτεο — Sk. *satja*], so that Hesiod's φατειός < *φατερος, held even by Brugmann in *Grdr.*[1] II. 1421, is now no longer accepted. G. Meyer[3] would derive it from -τός; Hirt[4] believes that both Sk. *tavya* and -τεος are based on *tu*-stems. Brugmann[5] has -τέος < *-τερος < infinitive form *-τεραι, Vedic -*tavē* and -*tavāi*, just like participial -μενος < infin. -μεναι. — The employment itself of the verbal, denoting necessity, is a post-Homeric usage appearing particularly in Attic. There is no trace of it in Homer;[6] in the few instances in which its form occurs at all it seems to be exchangeable with -τός, as νηγάτεος, B 43, Ξ 185 : *νεήγατος; βροτέη, τ 545 : βροτός; ἐτεόν, τ 176. Hesiod's φατε[ι]ός, *Theog.* 310, Ἀσπ. 144, 161, is the first example of it as a part. necess.[7] Meyer is

[1] Cf. *Vgl. Synt.* II. 486. [2] *Sprachwiss. Briefe*, p. 69 ff.
[3] *Gramm.*[3] p. 671. [4] *Handbuch*, p. 438. [5] *Gr. Gr.*[3] p. 525.
[6] Vogrinz, *Grammatik*, p. 141; G. Meyer, p. 671. [7] Schulze, *Qaest. ep.* 433.

probably incorrect in discarding the Hesiodian instance and assigning the first use to Herodotus. With the later writers the employment of *-τέος* is quite frequent, the agent upon whom the obligation rests to perform a given action being denoted by a dative, and never, as in the case of Lat. gerundive and *ab c. abl.*, by *ὑπό c. gen.* Thus,[1]

Xen. *Oec.* 7, 35 οἷς ἂν ἔνδον ἐργαστέον, τούτων σοι ἐπιστατητέον;
Dem. 6, 28 περὶ τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων ὕστερον βουλεύσεσθε;
Thuc. 8, 65 μεθεκτέον τῶν πραγμάτων πλείοσιν.

§ 84. The morphological proportion suggested by Brugmann, **-τέϝος* [> *-τέος*] : **-τεϝαι* : : *-μενος* : *-μεναι* gives a good starting point for the investigation of the origin of the dative. For if the formula holds good, and it seems to leave nothing to be desired, the case used to designate the agent may be brought in line with the wide appearance in the Indo-European group of languages of a dative of agent with a predicate infinitive. — What the Greek verbal denotes, the Sanskrit renders by a verbal adjective in *-tavya*. This, however, is only post-Vedic[2] and may be resolved into *-tav-(ē)* and *-ya*, cf. also *stuṣéyya-s* < *stuṣé*, 'to be praised < to praise,'[3] which would amount to the adjectivization of the infinitive stem or even form by means of a suffix. Now, in the Vedas not only the gerundive with this suffix *-ya* is employed,[4] in *RV.* to the number of 40 [Whitney], but the bare infinitive is also found used as a part. nec. with the termination *-ē*, *-tavāi*, and *-tavē*.[5] Like the Greek verbal in *-τός* denoting possibility and the Latin gerundive denoting necessity, this predicate infinitive first occurs in a negative sense, as *RV.* 1, 54, 1 *nahí tē ántaḥ śávasaḥ parīṇáśē*, 'the end of thy might is unreachable.' Whereas post-Vedic *-tavya* takes only an instrumental agent, *M.S.* 1, 5, 7, *agnihōtriṇā nāśitavyàṃ*, 'an A. should not eat,' in the Vedas *-tavē* requires that case only when the meaning is strongly passival, *RV.* 6, 56, 1 *ná tḗna dēvā́ ādíṣē*, 'the god is not to be scorned by this one,' cf. too 2, 16, 3, so that, discounting the everywhere competing genitive, solely the dative-agent is in evidence, *RV.* 10, 125, 6 *brahmadvíṣē śáravē hántavā́ u*, 'so

[1] Cf. Moiszisstzig, *Quaestiones de adiectivis graecis quae verbalia dicuntur*, 4 parts, Prog. Konitz, 1844–68; Kühner-Gerth, p. 447; *Gr. Gr.*[3] p. 524; Krüger, *Synt.* p. 229.

[2] *S.F.* V. 398.

[3] *Krz. Vgl. Gr.* II. 605.

[4] *S.F.* V. 396.

[5] *Vgl. Synt.* II. 460; *S.F.* V. 410 ff.

that the arrow may strike the hater of prayer,' or, without any *final* tinge whatever, but purely *predicatively*, *RV.* 2, 11, 1 *śʼáma tē dāvánē vásūnām*, 'who must be well received by you'; so 2, 11, 12. This fact seems to be a significant indication of the original dativa character of the agent with such infinitives.[1] — For a similar infinitive in Avestan cf. *Y.* 29, 3 *nōiṯ vīduyē*; *Y.* 45, 4 *nōiṯ diwžaidyāi*; possibly *Y.* 45, 5 is an example of the dative-agent,[2] tho I am inclined to place it elsewhere, cf. § 110.

§ 85. Similar combinations of the dative with the predicate infinitive are found in Slavic, the dative denoting the person on whom the obligation rests,[3] *nĕstъ namъ ubiti*, 'occidere non debemus,' Sup. 325, 1, and in Russian, *a jemu sderžati carstvo moskovskoje*, 'and he is to rule over the Empire of Moscow.' In Lithuanian the agent with a similar infinitive may be left out altogether, as *aʔ eĩt aʔ nè*, 'shall I go or not?,' but when it is expressed it is in the dative, '*be waiku aniemus mirti*, sine liberis moriendum illis est.'[4]

§ 86. In Latin this infinitive construction has, it is well known, been taken over by the gerundive. It is interesting that the semasiological process is similar to that observed in the transference of the idea of necessity from the Vedic infinitive to that post-Vedic gerundive which was formed from it by means of a suffix. One is tempted to see a perfect analogy between the two languages, in that there is high probability of the Latin gerundive form itself originating from an infinitive. Brugmann[5] — to mention but the latest attempts at explanation, tho cf. also Döhring, *Die Etymologie der sogen. Gerundivformen*, 1888, and Havet in *Mém. de la. Soc. de Ling.* VI. 6 — at first[6] identified the suffix *-ndo* with Balto-Slavic *-tno* [Lith. *sùk-tina-s* '*torquendus*,' to infin. *sùk-ti*], then, corrected by Conway,[7] he propounded a new theory,[8] according a Proto-Italic character to the formation of the gerundive and referring it to the infin. acc. in *-m*, like Umbrian *fâsiu*[*m*], Lat. *fero*[*m*], somewhat on the analogy of NHG. '*der zu lobende, ein zu lobender*' beside '*zu loben*,' or Sk. *śravāy-iyas* beside **śravāi*. L. Horton-Smith[9]

[1] For examples, etc., cf. *S.F.* V. 399, 422, and *KZ.* 18, 93.
[2] Cf. Reichelt, pp. 337, 340; Bartholomae, *KZ.* 28, 26.
[3] Miklosich, IV. 859.
[4] Schleicher, p. 312; *Vgl. Synt.* II. 461.
[5] Add to this sketch § 44 above.
[6] *Grdr.*[1] II. § 69, p. 152.
[7] *Class. Rev.* V. 296.
[8] *Grdr.*[1] II. § 1103.
[9] Cf. references in § 44, footnotes.

expresses doubts about Brugmann's conjecture as to the possibility of *-ndo* arising from a postpositive relation of a suffix **dʰ/e*, meaning '*to, zu*,' > *-md-* > *-nd-*, like Umbrian *pane* and Lat. *quam*, and substitutes for it a suffix *-do*, derivable from either $\sqrt{dō}$ or $\sqrt{dhē}$,[1] or both, attached in Primitive Italic to the Prim. Ital. infinitive, a substantive in *-m*, and governing the infin. as its object; so *edum* + *do* > *edundo*, + nom. masc. suffix *s* > *edundus*, and *edendus* on the analogy of pres. part. *edent-*. Fay[2] refers Lat. *fer-en-d-ae* to an I-E. *bherṇdhăi*, Sk. *bhár-a-dh-yāi*, cf. Gk. φέρε⟨σ⟩θ-αι, with the form in *-en* being an accusative to a root-noun, in effect an infinitive combination with the root $\sqrt{dhē}$, so that *bháradhyāi* originally meant 'for putting into bearing,' a possible case of survival of *-ndae* in infin. function being *Epid.* 74 *Puppis pereunda est probe*, if the reading *pereundae* is taken, 'is for perishing.'

§ 87. It will be noticed that these leading explanations all meet on the common ground of referring the gerundive of the Latin to an original infinitive. For the regulation of this infin.-gerundive with a dative agent, cf. § 44 ff. The conclusions from the foregoing remarks establish, it is hoped, the analogous stand of the dative with the Greek part. nec. within reasonable certainty, as being virtually equivalent to that in λ 76 ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι where the dative appears with an actual predicate infinitive. Nor is there any reason to think of an instrumental contamination, because even in Sanskrit a material *havyâir agnir mánuṣa īrayádhyāi*, 'is to be quickened thru the sacrifice of men,' *RV.* 4, 2, 1, develops into the personal agent but sparely, and mostly in post-Vedic literature.[3] It is significant, besides, that when the verbal -τέος first appears with this dative, — it is in Herodotus, — the latter is solely in the form of a pronoun, as I. 191, 3 τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν.[4] To which cf. §§ 45 *b*, 60.

**The Finite Verb in Passive.** § 88. In contradistinction to the verbal adjectives we must postulate for the dative-agent with finite verbs a partial instrumental force of more than conjectural standing, for the ease with which the impersonal, *i.e.* material, use of the

[1] "The Oscan-Umbrian forms bear upon the much-disputed question of the origin of the Gerundive to this extent, that they are unfavorable to any theory which assumes that the original form contained *ndh*." — Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, Boston, 1904, p. 181.

[2] *AJP.* XV. 217. [3] *S.F.* V. 399, 422.

[4] Cf. Helbing, *E. u. S. Dat.* p. 39, note 2.

instrumental can be extended to the personal use, which we have noted in the related languages, must apply equally to the Greek passives. The entire series of presumably I-E. transitional processes is faithfully reproduced in Greek, naturally in the guise of the so-called dative, both in the earliest poet, Homer, and the earliest prose writer, Herodotus.[1] Thus we find, cf. §§ 54, 68, 71,

(*a*) pure concomitation, naturally with verbs like *ἐρίζω*, *ἕπομαι* and *ὁμιλέω*;[2] *μάχομαι* alone takes in Homer 80 bare dat.-instrumentals, Walther, 19. Examples of a bare instrumental of association, as apart from verbs, are rare, cf.

Σ 506 *τοῖσιν ἕπειτ' ἦισσον* sc. *σκῆπτρα ἔχοντες*,
λ 163 *ἦ νῦν δὴ Τροίηθεν ἀλώμενος ἐνθάδ' ἱκάνεις νηί τε καὶ ἑτάροισι πολὺν χρόνον*,

where *νηί τε καὶ ἑτάροισι* belongs to *ἀλώμενος* in spite of *α* 182 (cf. *S.F.* IV. 58); accordingly *ἑτάροισι* is sociative. That it has no *σύν* is undoubtedly due to the influence of *νηί*. Cf. also

P 460 *ἵπποις δίσσων* and *δ* 8 *ἵπποισι καὶ ἅρμασιν πέμπε νέεσθαι*,

where the idea is, however, non-personal.[3]—The dative combined with the attributive pronoun *αὐτός*, in Homer only non-personal, Ψ 8 *ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἵπποισι καὶ ἅρμασιν ἅσσον ἰόντες . . .*, but post-Homerically also in turns like *αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι*, cf. Thuc. 4, 14, is also considered sociative.[4] *Αὐτός* originally belonged to the main idea and by some inexplicable syntactic metathesis became attracted and attached to the inst., so that *αὐτοὶ ἵπποισι ἰόντες* > *αὐτοῖς ἵπποισι ἰόντες*. — In military expressions the troops, ships, etc., are so many companions of the leader, hence the sociatives *στρατῷ*, *ναυσίν*, *ἱππεῦσι*, etc. For Herodotus cf. 3, 54, 1 *στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ὡς ἀπίκοντο*, but

(*b*) already in 8, 17, 7 *ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκηίῃ νηί* we can talk no more of a sociative sense. Cf. too, Soph. *Ai.*

[1] Cf. Walther, *de dativi instrumentalis usu Homerico*, Breslau Diss. 1874; and Helbing, *Über den Gebrauch des echten u. sociativen Dativs bei Herodot*, Diss. Freiburg, 1898, and *Der Inst. bei Herodot*, Program Karlsruhe, 1900.

[2] Add the following authorities: Kühner-Gerth, *Ausf. Gr.*[3] 430 ff.; Krüger, *Syntax*, p. 75 ff.; Vogrinz, *Gram. d. homer Dial.*, p. 312. ff.

[3] Cf. Holzweissig, *Über den soc.-inst. Gebrauch d. griech. Dativs*, 1885, p. 11 ff.

[4] *S.F.* IV. 58; *Vgl. Synt.* I. 236 ff.; Walther, p. 16; *Gr. Gr.*[3] 408, and Hentze, *Philologus* 61, 71.

767 *θεοῖς κράτος κατακτήσαιτο*, 'by the aid of the gods.' So, nearer to the inst. of means are

K *τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἐποχήσεται*
P 448 *ἅρμασιν δαιδαλέοισιν ἐποχήσεται.*

(*c*) For instances of the instrumental of means cf. Walther, 25 ff., and Helbing, *Der Inst. bei Herodot;* also *Gr. Gr.*[3] 410, Kühner-Gerth[3], 435. They are innumerable. The expression *σμίλῃ πεποιήμενον*, 'made with the graving tool,' shows the construction with the perfect participle.

(*d*) Persons and personified objects are often employed as means or instrument,

S. *Ant.* 164 *ὑμᾶς δ' ἐγὼ πομποῖσιν ἔστειλ' ἱκέσθαι*, per nuntios;
Eur. *Heracl.* 392 *οὐκ ἀγγέλοισι τοὺς ἐναντίους ὁρᾶν*;
with passives *Th.* 4, 39 *τὰς δὲ ἄλλας [ἡμέρας] τοῖς ἐσπλέουσι λάθρα διετρέφοντο*, 'durch die heimlich Einfahrenden,' Kühner, *Gram.*[2] 378: "*ὑπὸ τῶν ἐσπλεόντων* persönlich aufgefasst."

So *ι* 445 *λάχνῳ στεινόμενος καὶ ἐμοί, πυκινὰ φρονέοντι*, 'thru me'; also *α* 280, H 475, and Ω 546. This concept is as near to that of agency as it is possible to approach it without crossing the dividing line. It is, for instance, difficult to decide in examples like the following which type we have at hand,

Xen. *An.* 6, 4, 27 *φυλαττόμενοι ἱκάνοις φύλαξι*;
S. *Ai.* 539 *προσπόλοις φυλάσσεται.*[1]

Certainly they are not far removed from such examples of agency as *ν* 28 *λαοῖσι τετιμένος*, or the one cited by Meisterhans from an isc. (Gr.[2] 156, 172).

*ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠφλημένου Σωπόλιδι ἀργυρίου*, 'of the money owed by [not due to] Sōpolis.'

(*e*) That with finite verbs there should be no doubt at all as to an instrumental possibility, is further evidenced by personified instruments found with passives,

Homer, M 207 *πέτετο πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο*;
*φ* 524 *φερόμην ὀλοοῖς ἀνέμοισιν*;
*ξ* 299 [253] *Βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ.*

[1] Cf. Fairbanks, *The Dative Case in Sophocles*, p. 117, vol. 17, *TrAPA.*

(*f*) Still, when we come to the question of passive verbs with personal agents, we are confronted with an almost absolute uncertainty. We possess in Greek a parallel series of gradations, leading up to a legitimate instrumental of agency, of stronger cogency than even in Sanskrit or Slavic, but unfortunately the topmost point itself in the development is obscured by two circumstances, at least. The first one is that the very juxtaposition of a 'dative' form to any verb is sufficient to render its dativa l force *eo ipso* paramount and even exclusive. This statement is not intended to deny the potentialities, inherent in the dative itself, of an eventual transition from the function of interest to that of agency; at the same time it is manifest that the remains of an originally I-E. instrumental force are obscured by that very process of case-substitution which has brought the dative to the fore. In a word, the matter is one of popular linguistic feeling: had the reverse occurred, had the instrumental remained a living force and the dativa l function merged into it, we would to-day undoubtedly claim an instrumental connotation in all instances under consideration with as much insistence as some grammarians at present champion the cause of the dative. — Secondly, the fact that this dative of interest, standing apparently for *ὑπό c. gen.* appears in the overwhelming majority of instances with the perfect and the pluperfect and seldom with other senses (so cf. Kühner-Gerth[3], 422), is calculated to prejudice one against instrumental interpretations. If we recall that the Greek perfect, as in *τί πέπρακται τοῖς ἄλλοις*, Dem. 2, 27, is a present perfect which denotes equally the circumstance that an act has been done by some one and that the act serves some one's interests, we can see a striking similarity to the dative with the Latin periphrastic perfect of the type of 'mihi facta sunt,' a use which we found to be I-E. Superficially, then, every Greek verb in a perfect tense *may* be said to have a dative of agency with it which is really a dativus commodi.

§ 89. But to exaggerate such indications and to insist on the exclusive interpretation of all datives of this kind as datives of interest, is manifestly erroneous.[1] Surely, each verb must be studied separately, both as to its meaning and as to its form, then brought

[1] As when Monro, § 143, 5, renders Homeric *δόρυ μακρόν, ὅ οἱ κλισίηφι λέλειπτο*, N 168, by "which for him was left in the tent." According to this reasoning, what one forgets to take along with him is left somewhere *for* him. *Utinam semper!*

in line with linguistic similarities, defined as far as possible by its Indo-European bearings, and only then can a decision be made as to the character of the dative with it. This decision itself will be conditioned by the degree of verisimilitude in the conjecture. The court of last instance, in this matter at least, must not be the Greek *Sprachgefühl* at its acme of development, but all those often intangible tokens which will enable the grammarian to trace that *Sprachgefühl* to its fountain-head.

§ 90. Thus, for instance, if the verb could command a dative in the active, the possibilities are strong that the dative-agent with that verb in the passive is a retained dative, on the model of Latin '*emo mihi servum* ⟶ *emptus mihi est servus.*' Three categories especially lend themselves naturally to this interpretation, wherefore they are selected to illustrate the case of the dative.

(*a*) **Verbs of finding,** εὑρίσκω, — ι 421 εἴ τιν' ἑταίροισιν θανάτου λύσιν ἠδ' ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ εὑροίμην and φ 304 κακὸν οἱ αὐτῷ are media, but in Hdt. we find the compound ἀνευρίσκειν used passively; thus 2, 82, 5 τέρατά τε πλέω σφι ἀνεύρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι; cf. 1, 8, 16 ἀνθρώποισι with ἐξευρίσκειν. So Men. *Sent.* 51 τἀληθὲς ἀνθρώποισιν οὐχ εὑρίσκεται, etc.

(*b*) **Verbs of saying, calling,** like εἰρῆσθαι, δεδηλῶσθαι, λελέχθαι, etc. Herodotus uses in a formulaic manner ὡς εἴρηταί μοι πρότερον, as 1, 130, 15.[1] Similarly 1, 18, 9 ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, 2, 155, 8 ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὠνόμασταί μοι, 5, 62, 3 ἀπήγηταί μοι. Homer, Ψ 795, οὐ μέν τοι μέλεος εἰρήσεται αἶνος, Γ 138, νικήσαντι φίλη κεκλήσῃ ἄκοιτις, to which cf. Soph. *O.T.* 1359 βροτοῖς ἐκλήθην, *O.T.* 8 πᾶσι καλούμενος.

(*c*) **Verbs of doing,** ποιέω, τεύχω, etc. Z 56 ἦ σοὶ ἄριστα πεποίηται, η 342 πεποίηται δέ τοι εὐνή; Herodot. 2. 110, 7 οὔ οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ἔργα οἷάπερ Σεσώστρι. — E 446 ὄθι οἱ νηός γε τέτυκτο, Λ 671 ὡς ὁπότ' Ἠλείοισι καὶ ἡμῖν νεῖκος ἐτύχθη, etc. — πράττειν is frequent in Attic, cf. Xen. *An.* 7, 6, 32 ἐπέπρακτο ὑμῖν.

§ 91. Besides the fact that with these verbal concepts there are but very few exceptions from the above-mentioned rule concerning the use of the dative of agent with the perfect, pluperfect, and aorist passive, the pronominal nature, in the great majority, of the datives to be found accompanying them, is another proof of the real dativa character of these cases. Helbing notes 109 instances

[1] Cf. Helbing, *EuSD.* p. 35 ff.

of pronouns out of a total of 141 such datives. On a similar condition in Homer Havers bases his arguments for the evolution of the sympathetic dative in Greek into a possessive genitive.[1] If we add that with the three categories *ὑπό c. gen.* never seems to appear instead of a dative of the agent, the intensely personal nature of the connection is reasonably established.[2]

§ 92. So much for the dative specifically, besides the remarks in § 88 f. On the other hand, an instrumental provenience may safely be vindicated in at least one instance, viz. with the aorist *δαμῆναι*. This verb is used absolutely, as *α* 237, but more frequently with the agent, personal or material, in the dative. Curiously, also, it appears with its agent in *ὑπό c. dativo*, as N 668 *ὑπὸ Τρώεσσι δαμῆναι* and others,[3] even *ὑπ' ἐμοί* as in *φ* 213, E 646; in Hesiod, too, *ὑπὸ Κενταύροισιν δαμείη*. The fact that *κτείνω* in passive has a similar regimen, as Π 490 *ὑπὸ Πατρόκλῳ κτεινόμενος*, makes the following remarks general for all verbs of subjection. At any rate, La Roche, p. 356, is justified in rejecting Π 434 and Π 452 *ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο δαμῆναι*,[4] because "bei *δαμάω* findet sich sonst nur *ὑπό* mit dem Dativ oder der blosse Dativ" and not *ὑπό c. gen.* *Ἐδάμην*, cf. § 5 note, originally must have meant '*I became tame*,' which already in Homer's time was equivalent to '*I was conquered*.' The relation of such really intransitive verbs to the agent of their action is mutual; for not until their agent is clearly expressed, do they appear as definite passives: '*the house burns*' is intransitive until it turns to '*the house is burnt up by some one*.' Frequently, therefore, the force of the agent makes the verb passive. For Latin parallels, as *agna cadet vobis*, cf. § 52.

§ 93. Delbrück[5] thus pictures the case of *ἐδάμην*. From '*to be tame*' it could be applied to one fallen in battle, as *ἐδάμη*, '*he succumbed*.' The conqueror was conceived of as an orig. instrumental of the sociative type, as *Πηλεΐωνι δαμείς*, 'gestorben unter Mitwirkung des Peliden,' in the same sociative-locative sense as Π 543,

[1] Helbing, *loc. cit.* p. 37; Havers, p. 73.

[2] For Herodotus cf. Helbing, p. 37; for Homer, La Roche, *Über den Gebrauch von ὑπό bei Homer*, in *Zs. f. d. oesterr. Gymnasien*, 1861, p. 348, and Crusius, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.

[3] Cf. La Roche, *ubi supra*, p. 349.

[4] These are two similar expressions within a score of lines of each other and somewhat doubtful, cf. Ludwigh's *annot. Il.* II. 184, 185 *sub. lin.*

[5] *S.F.* IV. 79; cf. also Kühner-Gerth[3], 123.

τὸν δ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλῳ δάμασ' ἔγχεϊ χάλκεος Ἄρης, 'durch P. liess er ihn seinen Tod finden'; or A 243 εὖτ' ἂν πολλοὶ ὑφ' Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο θνήσκοντες πίπτωσι, 'wann unter dem menschenvertilgenden Hektor todt hinstürzen die Schaaren.'[1] This would be *one* explanation completely shutting out the datives. That Πηλεΐωνι and the personal datives in similar examples are not mere datives of personal interest, but have primarily a locatival connotation, is evident from the fact that often these datives are strengthened by ὑπό. Thus, compare the instances cited in § 92, N 668, etc., with Π 854 χερσί δαμέντ' beside the frequent ὑπὸ χερσὶ δαμήμεναι 'unter den Händen und durch dieselben,' as B 860, 847 ἐδάμη ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο; as well as X 246 δουρί besides E 653, Λ 444, 748 ἐμῷ ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμείς.

§ 94. A development of the inst. of means, however, is also conceivable. So σ 54 ἵνα πληγῇσι δαμείω, or X 271 ἔγχει ἐμῷ δαμάᾳ or Π 854 χερσί, X 246 δουρί, Δ 99 βέλει, would lead up to personal concepts like Υ 294 Πηλεΐωνι and P 2 Τρώεσσι, or substantives like Π 326 δοιοῖσι κασιγνήτοισι, Γ 301 ἄλλοισι and T 417 θεῷ τε καὶ ἀνερί, thru such natural gradations as M 37 Διὸς μάστιγι a personified Ξ 352 ὕπνῳ καὶ φιλότητι or, of a river-god, Φ 291 ποταμῷ. Other examples are Θ 244, X 55, Σ 432, X 176, Σ 103, σ 57. A nice example from the N.T. is James 3, 7 δαμάζεται καὶ δεδάμασται τῇ φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ, 'can be tamed by the human genius.' "Es musste also der Instrumentalis der Personennamen herübergenommen worden sein von Sachnamen," Vogrinz, *Grammatik d. hom. Dial.* p. 307.

§ 95. Of other aorists in -ην we have ἐπλήγην with a participle always passival, and so with the inst. of means μ 416 πληγεῖσα κεραυνῷ; so ἐτύπην, Λ 206 δουρὶ τυπεὶς ἢ βλήμενος ἰῷ. I find none with the personal agent. Like δαμῆναι are to be judged the passive of ἀνάσσω, 'to be ruled over,' as δ 177 ἀνάσσονται δ' ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ, where the 'interest'-element is clearly not in the agent, and κτείνεσθαί τινι, 'to be killed by some one,' as E 465 ἐς τί ἔτι κτείνεσθαι ἐάσετε λαὸν Ἀχαιοῖς. Kühner-Gerth's opinion[2] that all the above are pure datives with passives, in which Monro, § 143, 5, concurs, are to be rejected. (Cf. to this point Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.*[3] § 471 Anm.; § 456, 2 Anm.; § 523, p. 464.)

[1] Ehrenthal's translation; Voss is more advanced, "wenn sie in Schaaren, vom männermordenden Hektor niedergestürzt, hinsterben."

[2] *Gramm.*[3] § 423.

§ 96. The results arrived at for Greek are thus, by the very nature of things, of a doubtful character. In the instance of the verbal adjectives in *-τός* and *-τέος* the dative was given preference over the instrumental, in that of finite verbs the impossibility of localizing and even locating the instrumental force was emphasized, and a method was indicated for separation wherever feasible. The Sanskrit could not be drawn upon for aid. After all, it is not the amalgamation of a Sanskrit dative and a Sanskrit instrumental that we have in Greek, but in the last analysis the fusion of an I-E. dative and an I-E. instrumental without the peculiar features of Indo-Iranian additions and extensions. And this is just the reason why we are forced to bow to a semblance of things: the dative is in charge of the function of agency thruout; the interpretation, therefore, of the dative-agent as an original dative is the easiest procedure. Even *δαμῆναι τινί* might be suspected of analogy with *ὑπείκειν τινί*, as in *μ* 117 *θεοῖσιν ὑπείξεαι ἀθανάτοισι*; while the question of advisability as to such a reasoning is doubtful, such reasoning is only natural. For, had not the dative itself been suited to express agency, it would neither have crossed over into the domain of the instrumental nor monopolized this special function of agency. Language — a living growth, not a system with iron-clad regulations — abhors violence. At the same time we must not forget the original I-E. development of the instrumental of means and its compelling conclusions relative to the personal agent with passives; and whereas one must not and cannot go so far as to assert with Fairbanks[1] that agency is a new and restricted idea with respect to the dative, one is constrained to agree with him that it would be in accord with the facts to extend, wherever possible, the instrumental of means in certain connections, so as to apply to persons as well as to things, and not endeavor to vindicate everything in sight for the dative alone. "The simplicity of the extension of the impersonal use of the instrumental to the personal is greatly in favor of that procedure, and it has what support is to be gained from the Sanskrit parallel."[2]

[1] *The Dative Case in Sophocles*, vol. 17, p. 117 of *TrAPA*.
[2] Fairbanks, *ubi supra*.

## CHAPTER VIII

### The Dative-Instrumental of Agency in the Germanic Languages

§ 97. The Germanic languages offer almost an exact parallel to Greek, not only in the details of the phenomena of syncretism, but in the extreme difficulty of attaining anything like definitiveness in the fixation of individual usages affected by such phenomena. Mourek, in a review of Delbrück's *Synkretismus*,[1] gives an excellent characterization of the protean nature of the material, "wo man es anfasst, entwindet es sich dem griff und verwandelt im handumdrehen seine schon sicher geglaubte gestalt. man muss sich daher überall nur mit einer der geahnten wahrheit möglichst nahe kommenden wahrscheinlichkeit begnügen." In the particular subject under discussion the situation is further complicated by a well-developed tendency towards analytic substitutes for the synthetic expressions predominant in other branches of the Indo-European family; especially is this the case with Old High German and Old Saxon, which employ exclusively prepositional phrases for the expression of agency with passive verbs: *fona gode chisalbot*, Is. 3, 2; *it uuas bi thesun liudiun giduan*, Hel. 5026, *Ik geuuisso gesazt bin kuning van himo*, Ps. 2, 6.[2] Since a detailed consideration of such uses is outside the limits of our investigation, this chapter will confine itself to Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Norse.

§ 98. The character, moreover, of the Germanic dative has given cause to some difference of opinion. And this entirely aside from the now exploded theories of Düntzer[3] and Ludwig[4] according to which the Indo-European languages have not systematically syncretized their cases so that few appear complete, but that the number of case-forms was at first actually less in number and in

[1] *Zs. f. deut. Altertum*, 38 [1908], p. 118.

[2] Heyne, *Kleinere altniederdeutsche Denkmäler*, Paderborn, 1877; Graff, *Die ahd. Präpositionen*, Königsberg, 1824, p. 236 ff; Behaghel, *Syntax der Heliand*, 1897, p. 131 ff.

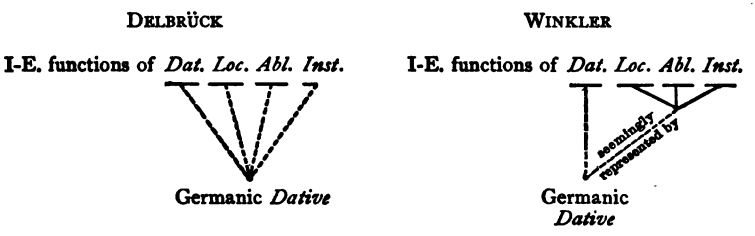
[3] *KZ.* 17 [1867]. [4] *Agglutination oder Adaptation*, 1873.

distinction than in Sanskrit, and the specialization came about only *after* the dialectal scission. To-day, of course, we no longer hold that in the various aspects of the Indo-European case-system we have to deal with instances of accretion. Rather do we stand, cf. § 23 ff., for the fusions of original case-functions and explain the present position of Indo-Iranian with 8 case-forms, Balto-Slavic with 7 [no abl.], Latin with 6 [no inst. and loc.], Greek, Germanic, and Old Irish with 5 [in general no inst. loc. and abl.], purely on such a demonstrable basis of case-reductions. But recently a new champion of the discredited "*Ausdehnungstheorie*" has appeared. Winkler's *Germanische Casussyntax*, which deals specifically with the Germanic dative and instrumental, is directly opposed to the so-called "*Verschmelzungstheorie*," as best advocated by Delbrück in *ALI.*, *Vgl. Synt.* I, and *Synkretismus*. This theory of course explains the Germanic dative to be of syncretistic origin, a Misch-kasus, arisen thru the assumption of the specific functions of other lost case-forms; a case, therefore, in which the force of the I.-E. dative has coalesced, fused, merged with that respectively, of the I-E. ablative, locative, and instrumental. As Delbrück puts it *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 234, "Den Träger all dieser Bedeutungen nennen wir Dativ." More specifically, in the plural the Germanic has lost the dative and the locative, and it is an instrumental form, called 'dative,' which functions for all three; whereas in the singular the dative is most often expressed thru a locative, sometimes thru an instrumental form, in only a few instances perhaps thru a dative also. Cf. § 33 ff.

§ 99. Far from accepting the syncretistic explanation, Winkler considers the Germanic dative to be the direct and uncontaminated descendant of the pure I-E. dative, essentially a case of personal interest, "casus der beteiligung ohne örtliche nebenvorstellung," save that in the course of time it had, by reason of its basic significance, extended the boundaries of its original sphere and had come to acquire the functions already specialized and expressed by other cases in the parent language. In this condition it has come down to the Germanic, where we meet it in all its various applications. It has, then, besides its original force, locatival, instrumental, and ablatival signification, but these, save the last, are merely seemingly such, inasmuch as their origin can easily be connected with the real character of the dative case, interest. The pure dative in Gothic, for instance, never becomes either locative or ablative,

never performs any ablatival, p. 76 f., or locatival functions, p. 68 f. and p. 142, never even approximately represents a real locative or a real ablative; wherever instances occur when the latter seems to be the case, they will, on closer inspection, turn out, in the last analysis, to be the real dative of interest in a special sense. Likewise it only appears to perform instrumental functions because, owing to its original force, and the flexibility of its use, it is suitable for such purposes. "Selbst hier ist es möglich, die vermittelung mit dem reinen casus der beteiligung zu finden, wobei von wichtigkeit ist, dass er nie comitativen sinn hat, sondern direct vom casus des interesses zum casus der hinsicht und des mittels geworden ist," p. 2, 90 ff. and elsewhere.

§ 100. Diagrammatically expressed, the difference between the two views would be somewhat as follows:




Winkler's whole trend of thought may be summarized under the catchphrase of "Germanic emotionalism." According to him the Germani must be thought of as having a peculiar predilection (besondere Vorliebe) for the case of personal interest, the case of reflection, and are psychologically inclined to conceive of lifeless objects as living beings interested in the moment and duration of an action whereby they are affected. To the lively Greeks who grasped the purely actual fact, almost any verb can connect itself with the accusative; but to the inwardly directed consciousness of the Germani the reason for, rather than the action itself, is of importance, and thus there results a tendency to represent, even in expressions of vigorous action, the object acted upon as it is affected, p. 26. With what consequence? That the conception of personal interest dominates the Germanic mind throughout, personifies the most inanimate things, renders them living participants in the action, enables them to feel, makes them suffer or

react, contend or submit. The dative thus becomes a *casus universalis* in Gothic, for, besides the purely subjective relation, it energetically invades the spheres of other cases and takes possession, wholly or partly, of the functional domains of all the other oblique cases and even of prepositional relations of whatever nature, — and everywhere it remains the same case of interest. Indeed, here and there Winkler concedes some instrumental sense to the dative and is not averse to lending an ear to the claims of syncretism, but even then he conceives of a natural connection between the two. In the words of a somewhat sarcastic reviewer[1] "*wodurch* man jemanden tötet soll auch als das angesehen werden, *wofür* man die handlung ausführt!! Also man erschlägt einen im interesse des beiles."

§ 101. We are not inclined to concede such sweeping conquest to the Germanic dative, however personal. This acquisition of functions was not so much aggressive and expansive as receptive and combinative, or else the morphological and syntactical data of Syncretism with its evidences of passive, accidental and logical absorption of one function by another case-form go for naught.[2] But how does all this affect the discussion at hand? In this way: If Winkler's theory be tenable, the function designated as that of agency can instantly be resolved, in conformity with the postulates of that theory, into a relation merely of personal interest. For, if it be true that "*was von jemand gethan wird, wird in irgend einem sinne für ihn gethan*," p. 80, the whole question of the I-E. origin of the construction discussed would be side-tracked at once. It is proposed to demonstrate in the following how far such a theory is in error with respect to the so-called Dative of Agency.

**Gothic.** § 102. The treatment of any syntactic problem in Gothic necessarily involves at least two important considerations, namely

(*a*) That the chief, and almost exclusive, source of our knowledge is not an original work, but only a translation into the West-Gothic language of the Greek texts of the Gospels and of the Pauline Epistles, as well as fragmentary renderings of portions of the Old Testament, generally attributed to the West-Gothic bishop Wulfila, 311–383 A.D.;[3]

[1] O. Mensing, p. 552, vol. 30 of *Zacher's Zs.*

[2] Cf. here, in addition, O. Mensing's review of *Synkretismus, IFA.* vol. 22, p. 47.

[3] For syntactic purposes the Skeireins and the documents of Arezzo and

(*b*) That, as a result, for Gothic we do not, as in the case of other Germanic dialects, possess the materials for tracing the historical development of the language, a knowledge of which alone makes possible conclusive decisions concerning syntactic difficulties. What we do have of the Gothic is — aside from the so-called Crimean Gothic of the 16th century — a completely isolated literary monument, a mere snapshot, as it were, taken of the language in the middle of the 4th century A.D.; besides this, only a few insignificant inscriptions remain of the language of the once powerful Visi- and Ostrogoths.

§ 103. This lack of material is all the more to be deplored in view of the importance of determining Wulfila's attitude towards his sources. Whether he slavishly imitated the style and constructions of the Greek original[1] or preserved that measure of independence indispensable for an idiomatic rendering is a disputed question.[2] A careful consideration of all the evidence pro and con

Naples, etc., are not generally recognized as authoritative, unless corroborated by other evidence; cf. Winkler, *Germ. Cas.* p. 136, and the introductory remarks to Streitberg's *Got. El.*[4]; but see also Lenk, *Die Syntax der Skeireins*, *PBB.* 36, 237 ff.

[1] Streitberg, *Got. El.*[4] p. 30, indicates the strong probability also of the influence of the Latin Itala upon the translation, "am schwächsten ist sie in Mt., stärker in den übrigen Evangelien, am weitesten aber in den paulinischen Briefen." So Bernhardt, *Vulfila*, Einleitung, xxxviii, and Bangert, *Einfluss der lat. Quellen auf die got. Bibelübersetzung*, Prog. Rudolstadt, 1880.

[2] In a general way, the striking similarity between original and translation cannot be denied. Wulfila evidently was not inclined to depart radically from the Greek text; his close adherence to it at times, resulting even in such absurdities as imitations of anacoluthа, certainly minimizes the number of cases of difference, and would tend to reduce their significance when compared with the multitude of instances in which his version agrees absolutely with the original. On the other hand, whole series of grammatical differences and syntactic deviations have been adduced to prove Wulfila's comparative independence, not only in these respects, but also in his peculiarly Germanic interpretation of Biblical passages. Thus he is unquestionably unrestricted in the application of his verbal forms and has a tendency to a peculiar use of modes and of the dual to attain a linguistic finesse not possessed by the Greek text. His ready inventiveness is, furthermore, remarkably well illustrated by the fact that he often turns the very forms and idioms which he sometimes studiously avoids and, again, uses almost indifferently, against the usage of the original text itself. In a word, it is a case, modified of course, of '*Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*' Cf. Gaebeler, *Die griech. bestandteile d. got. Bibel*, *Zs. f. d. Phil.* 43, 1 ff.; Stolzenburg, *Zur Übersetzungstechnik des Wulfila*, Diss. Halle, 1905; G-L's *Prolegomena*, etc.

justifies the conclusion that the translator, anxious to remain faithful to his source, either because of his reverence for it, or for reasons of literary expediency,[1] undoubtedly went to the farthest limit of what was admissible in his own language; but that, if he was not to defeat the purpose of his work, even if he did not contemplate a popularization of the Bible, as Friedrichs claims,[2] he had to avoid doing violence to the genius of the Gothic tongue. Similarly Bernhardt,[3] "Der gotische gebrauch der casus erweist sich durch die vergleichung des Ahd. Altn. Ags. Alts. im ganzen als echt germanisch." Therefore the occurrence in Wulfila's Bible of constructions that might be suspected of being Grecisms, aside from probable and rare instances of unconscious imitation, can be explained on no other assumption save that, in such cases, the Gothic could follow the Greek without at all becoming unidiomatic. This was quite possible if, as we have reason to believe, the two related Indo-European languages, at that period, stood both on nearly the same syntactic niveau, having in common the loss of the ablative, locative and the instrumental.[4]

§ 104. It is precisely that intimate interplay caused by these conditions, the almost systematic identification of Gothic with Greek, that renders it difficult to determine with absolute exactitude the character of certain syntactic constructions found in Wulfila, especially if the limited literature at our disposal offer but few examples of their actual application. Such is the case with the so-called *Dative of Agency without preposition*. As a rule, agency combined with a passive verb in Gothic is expressed by the preposition 'fram'[5] connected with the dative of the person, *e.g.* Mt. 6, 2 *ei hauhjaindau fram mannam*, ὅπως δοξασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, Ags. *þæt hī sīn geārwurþode fram mannum*,[6] or Lk. 5, 15 *garunnun hausjan jah leikinon fram imma*, καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.[7] There are found, however, well-defined instances where,

[1] Cf. Kauffmann, *Zs. f. d. Phil.* 32, 316, and Dietrich, *Die bruchstücke der Skeireins*, 2 v. Strassburg, 1903, p. lxxvi.

[2] *Die Stellung des Pron. personale im Got.* Jena, 1891, p. 3 ff.

[3] *Zs. f. d. Phil.* 13, 1.

[4] Cf. also Curme, *Is the Gothic Bible Gothic? JEGP.* 10, 156.

[5] Grimm's 'ideal preposition' with passives, *Grammatik*, IV. 947.

[6] The Belles-Lettres series: *The Gospel of St. Matthew*, J. W. Bright, 1904.

[7] Other examples in Gering, *Zs. f. d. Phil.* 5, 411, and Winkler, *Germ. Cas.* p. 157.

instead of this prepositional construction, a pure dative of agency seems to be used.

§ 105. Before we undertake a systematic examination of them, the opinions of grammarians will be of interest. Of those who to a greater or lesser degree have touched upon the subject, Gabelentz u. Loebe[1] attempt a fair solution of the problem, but are led astray partly by a hypothetical intransitiveness with which such datives are connected, partly by an inclination to treat the construction as a mere imitation of the Greek dative used with passives for *ὑπό c. gen.* At any rate they offer no discussion of examples. For the former of these views they seem to have followed in the footsteps of Jac. Grimm, who in his few words on *gaumjan*[2] suggests '*appareant, videantur hominibus*' as a meaning for Mt. 6, 5 *gaumjaindau mannam.* Köhler,[3] deploring the lack of material that might furnish evidence, reluctantly assigns the datives with the passives of *gaumjan* and *saihvan* to the category of the farther object. Erdmann-Mensing do not mention the subject at all; nor does Streitberg who must be understood as taking the construction for a Greek imitation, since his syntax is based only upon the differences between Gothic and Greek.[4] Bernhardt[5] and Wilmanns[6] content themselves with adopting Winkler's view. Lastly, van der Meer[7] thus sums up the situation, "Ofschoon hier ook in de meeste gevallen het Grieksch een datief heeft, laat zich in verband met de bovengenoemde gevallen deze constructie ok van Gotisch standpunt verklaren, als we den datief opvatten als een dativus commodi et incommodi." Winkler's view, as might be expected, is characteristic,[8] "Noch einen fall nahen zusammenhanges bietet der ausdruck des agens beim passiv, wo wir gewohnt sind das ausgehen der handlung vom agens betont zu sehen, gr. *ὑπό*, lat. *ab*, got. *fram:* vielfach begegnet uns auch der reine instrumental, daneben der dativ sporadisch in den verschiedensten sprachen, so ziemlich oft in Avesta, hier und da im gr. und latein. und desgleichen im germanischen. *Der dativ ist hier überall reinster ausdruck der beteiligung.*" No writer, so far as I am aware, has made a systematic effort to connect this Gothic dative, from

[1] G-L. p. 226, § 231, 2.
[2] *Deut. Grammatik*[1], IV. 699.
[3] *Germania*, xi. 237.
[4] Cf. *Got. El.*[4] Vorwort.
[5] *Krz. Got. Gr.* p. 84.
[6] *Deut. Grammatik*, III. 2, § 289.
[7] *Got. Casussyntaxis*, I. Leiden, 1901, § 38.
[8] *Germ. Cas.* p. 80.

the syncretistic development of this case, with the instrumental of agency known to other languages.

§ 106. As in the instance of Greek, so here the very survival and supremacy of the so-called 'dative' contributes much to give everything it represents a strong datival coloring. In the discussion following, therefore, the coöperation of the dative will be taken for granted, with the important proviso, however, that modern German *Sprachgefühl* must not be too heavily drawn upon for the determination of such an old stage as Gothic represents. In any case of doubt we must hold as authoritative rather those dialects which have the most important bearing upon Gothic syntax, viz. Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse,[1] as well as the usage of the older periods of other cognate languages.

§ 107. **ei gaumjaindau mannam**, Mt. 6, 5, ὅπως ἂν φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.[2] Two considerations present themselves here. The verb is by many regarded as used intransitively, tho of passive form, and this seems to be borne out by the Greek φανῶσιν. Now, altho the results of the action are the same whether the verb be regarded as intransitive or as passive, the direction of the action in the one case is essentially different from that in the other: in the one a merely subjective status is mirrored, in the other an objective action towards the subject is emphasized. The intransitive usage, then, cannot denote that shade of meaning which is inherent in the passive verb; and given, in any language, the possibility of both variants, there is no reason why the one expression should be taken as the exact and necessary equivalent of the other. The possibility of such a conception cannot be denied, but its necessity has yet to be shown. The evidence supposed to be furnished by the Greek text is of no weight whatever in the light of the fact that, to be consistent in their interpretations of the dative, commentators consider obviously passive verbs in the Greek text itself as being used intransitively. As to the dative *mannam*, observe that *gaumjan* is one of the verbs in Gothic which, aside from instrumental

[1] Bernhardt, *Beiträge z. d. Phil.*, Halle, 1880, p. 73.

[2] These citations are from Streitberg's *Die Got. Bibel;* the Gothic text, therefore, is substantially that of the *Codex Argenteus* of the 5/6th century, whereas the accompanying Greek is that of the recension current at Constantinople in the 4th century, as reconstructed by scholars like Lagarde, Kauffman and others. Pp. 23–33 of *Got. El.*[4] and, more extensively, S. xxxi–xlvi of *Got. Bibel* offer detailed information on this question.

connections, as Jh. 12, 40, *ei ni gaumidedeina augam*, ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, take the dative-object instead of the accusative, *e.g.* Jh. 9, 1 *gaumida mann blindamma*, ἴδεν ἄνθρωπον. Inasmuch as the dative appearing with it bears the same relation to the verb as the accusative-object to *its* verb, with the passivization of the verb the dative-object necessarily becomes the subject of it[1] — and this, indeed, is the usage of the Gothic, the formation of personal passives by verbs governing a dative-object.[2] Thus the construction *ei gaumjaindau mannam* presupposes an active *ei mans gaumjaina im*. There can be no talk, then, of a dative-object retained, as in Jh. 17, 15 or Mt. 9, 17; a retained dat. of indirect object, as *þatei giban ist mis*, τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, Col. 1, 25, is impossible; a pure dative of interest is excluded by our view of the passives. As a practical proof of the soundness of this reasoning let me offer Mk. 16, 11 *jah gasaihvans warþ fram izai*, καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς,[3] *Itala* 'et visus esset ab ea,' which shows, despite Winkler, p. 35 note to *gaumjan*, that the passive of a verb of seeing must no more be intransitive in Gothic than in Greek; that the dative connected with it must not be a dat. of interest; that, finally, the idea of agency, as such, may and can be expressed with it.

§ 108. Anglo-Saxon *þæt men hig gesēon* offers no aid here.[4] Piper[5] assigns *mannam* to his table of dat.-instrumentals, Erdmann[6] strongly dissenting. Köhler[7] remarks that if *gaumjan* is taken in its real passive meaning, 'beobachtet, bemerkt werden,' then this is a case of the dat. with passives "wie wir im Lateinischen gar nicht selten beim Passivum . . . finden." Mt. 6, 16 and 18, **ei gasaihvaindau mannam fastandans**, ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύοντες and **ei ni gasaihvaizau mannam fastands**, ὅπως μὴ φανῇς

[1] For similar use in Gk. cf. Krüger, *Att. Synt.* p. 137.

[2] Cf. *Got. El.*[4] §§ 241, 255, 286; van der Meer, p. 3; esp. Köhler, *Germania*, xi, 285, 287.

[3] For Gk. cf. also Xen. *Cyr.* 3, 3, 31 and *Oec.* 8, 11.

[4] In accordance with the opinions of Bernhardt, *Beiträge z. d. Phil.* Halle, 1880, p. 73, the Anglo-Saxon version of the Bible is constantly drawn upon for collateral testimony. Whilst the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon translations were not made from the same text, the prototype of the latter being the Vulgate, the evidence of the Anglo-Saxon is nevertheless important, as an index of Germanic "*Gesinnungsweise*," in clearing up the Germanic character of ambiguous constructions in Gothic.

[5] *Über den Gebrauch des Dativs*, p. 29. [6] *Zs. f. d. Phil.* 6, 121.

[7] *Germania*, xi, 287.

τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύων, may after the preceding lines be passed by, save that Ags. lends added weight to their interpretation in the above light: whereas in 16 *þæt hig æfēowun mannum fæstende* is a real dative of interest because of its verb, 'to appear,' 18, *þæt þū ne sȳ gesewen fram mannum fæstende* has the idea of agency in its most distinct form of expression with a verb of active seeing.

§ 109. **Du saihvan im**, Mt. 6, 1, πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς. Bopp, in an interesting passage[1] intimates that *im* is not an ordinary dative. "Ausserdem kann oft im Gothischen nur aus dem Zusammenhang und durch den dabeistehenden Dativ [allein oder mit *fram*, von], *welcher im Gothischen häufig die Stelle des skr. Instrumentalis vertritt* — italics mine — erkannt werden, das der Infinitiv nicht die gewöhnliche active, sondern passive Bedeutung hat. So erhellt Matth. 6, 1, aus dem Dativ *im* von ihnen, dass der vorangehende Infinitiv passive Bedeutung hat, und *du saihvan im*, welches wir, um die Construction nachzuahmen, durch 'zum Sehen von ihnen' übersetzen müssten, überträgt das Griechische πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς." Grimm (IV. 104 f.) evidently under the spell of NHG. — Tatian in his paraphrastic *thaz ir gisehan sīt* avoids the dative altogether — expresses his astonishment that the Gothic infinitive should not only be used in a passive sense, but even connected with an oblique case thru which that passive is defined.

§ 110. In spite of Bopp, I am inclined to vindicate for *im* an original dativa l use, and that because the form with which it is found seems to bring it in line with a general Indo-European phenomenon, the use of the infinitive in a *final* sense. Not, indeed, according to Jolly,[2] who, citing Benfey's rule[3] as to the attraction of the dative-infinitive, would see a parallel between *vṛtrāya hantavē*, 'Vritrae occidendo, ad Vritram occidendam,' or *dṛśē viśvāya*, 'omni videndo, ad omne videndum,' and *du saihvan im*.[4] There would, indeed, be a similarity if *du saihvan im* meant 'ad eos videndos' or, in Benfey's scheme of attraction, 'eis videndis.' — The final sense of infinitives, originally case-forms of verbal abstracts, nomina actionis,[5] undoubtedly based on an I-E. usage, is common to a number of languages. So Sanskrit, with a meaning of passivity similar to the Gothic, *RV.* 7, 31, 1 *á vō vâhiṣṭhō vahatu*

[1] *Vgl. Gramm.* III. § 872, p. 305.
[2] *Gesch. des Infinitivs*, p. 163, tho cf. also p. 265.
[3] *Krz. Sk. Gr.* p. 237. [4] Cf. also *KZ.* 18, 104.
[5] Cf. Bopp's *Konjugationssystem*, 1816, p. 71.

*stavádhyāi ráthaḥ*, 'in order to be praised, for praise'; *RV.* 1, 123, 11 *āvís tanvàṃ kṛṇuṣē dṛśē kám*, 'so that it may be seen,' is the exact counterpart of *du saihvan*. These examples are taken from *Vgl. Synt.* II. 464 and *S.F.* V. 410 ff. For the Avestan, cf. Reichelt, § 702 *tat mōi vīčidyāi vaoča vīduyē mąnčā daidyāi*. Similar infinitives of purpose are found in Homer, γ 176, H 373; passively Σ 507 κεῖτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα, τῷ δόμεν, 'in order to be given to him,' ὅς etc.[1] For Balto-Slavic, cf. Miller, *Ueber den letto-slavischen Infinitiv*, *Kuhn & Schleicher* 8, 165. The agent with these infinitives is in the dative; it is not so much an agent as a dat. commodi. *RV.* 9, 4, 4 *punītána sṓmam índrāya pấtavē*, 'for Indra to drink,' 'to be drunk by Indra,' as we would say to-day; 10, 14, 12 *dṛśáyē sū́ryāya*, 'for a view to the sun, to be seen by the sun.' So 1, 113, 5.— Avestan, "*ukšnē krathwē*, zur Vermehrung für den Verstand," Wilhelm, *Infin.* p. 96. Cf. above *mōi*, also *Y.* 45. 5 *srūidyāi mašyaēibyō*, 'for men to hear.'—Greek, χ 476 μήδεά τ' ἐξέρυσαν, κυσὶν ὠμὰ δάσασθαι, λ 76 καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι. Slavic, *sila christosova jestъ viděti*, 'in order to be seen.'[2] Lithuanian: *àsz girdẽjau, kàd tù turì dùkterį smãkui prarỹt*, 'a daughter to be swallowed by a dragon, zum Verschlingen für einen Drachen.'[3]

§ 111. The Germanic infinitive in such instances, consequently, may be taken as one of these final infinitives. Since the prepositional infinitive bears the same relation to the simple infinitive — itself but a nomen absolutum — which the prepositional cases bear to simple cases, the preposition *du* serves only as a preservative of the original, worn, and tarnished basic signification.[4] In other words, *im* parallels the datives in such noun-connections expressive of purpose as Mt. 8, 4 *du weitwodiþai im*, εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς, 'for

[1] Cf *Gr. Gr.*[2] § 457.

[2] Miklosich, IV. 849; Vondrák, II. 366.

[3] Cf. also Schleicher, p. 311.

[4] The W. Germanic has an inflected infinitive [gerundium], an expansion of the orig. suffix with *-i̯o-*, preceded by a preposition, Ags. *tō*, OS. *tō*, *te*, OHG. *zi* followed by a dative, *tō ālōsannea*, *tō bindanne*, *zi bintanne* (Dieter, *Altgerm. Dial.* p. 379; Wilmanns, 3, 1, p. 127). It is doubtful whether a dative form like this existed in Gothic, because Lk. 14, 31 *du viganna* is a conjectural form, cf. Streitberg, *Got. Bib.* II. 174. On this see Winkler, *Germ. Cas.* p. 289, and Jolly, p. 176, who hold that the Germanic infinitive was originally a dative, tho Streitberg, *U.G.* § 198: I-E. *-(o)no-m* > Grm. *(a)n*, as I-E. **bhéronom*, Sk. *bhárаṇam*, Gt. *bairan*, therefore a neuter nominative-accusative.

a testimony to them'; R. 10, 4. *du garaihtein allaim þaim galaubjandam*, εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι. On the other hand, compare 2 Cor. 1, 20, where agency is denoted, pure and simple, *guþa du wulþau þairh uns*, τῷ θεῷ πρὸς δόξαν δι' ἡμῶν. So, *du saihvan im* really means '*for a seeing, a view to them.*' The passive meaning attached to it to-day is artificial and based on analogy with the modern German and perhaps with Latin, a procedure warned against in principle as early as Grimm, IV. 66.

§ 112. Anglo-Saxon *þæt gē sīn geherede fram him* does not correspond at all to the Greek, — it means 'laudare, celebrare,' as in Ps. Th. 43, 10 — and for Mt. 23, 15 πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, which is not in our Gothic text, we have in Ags. *þæt men hī gesēon*. The Gothic 1 Tim. 4, 3, *þanzei guþ gaskop du andniman miþ awiliudam galaubjandam jah ufkunnandam sunja*, ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν εἰς μετάληψιν . . . τοῖς πιστοῖς κτλ., represents to my mind the same construction as *du saihvan im*.

§ 113. 1 Cor. 15, 5 **ataugids ist Kefin jah afar þata þaim ainlibim**, ὤφθη Κηφᾶ εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα; and 1 Tim. 3, 16, cf. also Mk. 9, 4, *ataugids warþ þaim aggilum*, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις — admit of an intransitive interpretation in the first instance, and Mk. 9, 4 of the Ags. *þā ætȳwde him Helias mid Moyse* substantially covers *jah ataugiþs warþ im Helias miþ Mose*, to parallel ὤφθη αὐτοῖς. At the same time some considerations are at hand towards a contrary explanation. The Gothic presents the curious complication of employing both the passive of *ataugjan* — 'be shown, appear, be seen' — and the reflexive *ataugjan sik* to render the Greek ὁράομαι. Thus, Mk. 9, 4 *ataugiþs warþ im* H. ὤφθη αὐτοῖς, also 1 Tim. 3, 16 and 1 Cor. 15, 5, as against 1 Cor. 15, 7 *ataugida sik Jakobau*, ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ; so 1 Cor. 15, 8. To the latter must be added Mk. 27, 53 *ataugidedun sik managaim*, ἐφανίσθησαν πολλοῖς, and, because of its meaning, Mk. 16, 9, *ataugida Marjin*, ἐφάνη. It is to be noted that the expression ὤφθη with the dative recurs four times in close succession, but that the Gothic does not render it alike in all instances; in the first two Wulfila translates by the periphrastic passive, in the last two, however, by a reflexive construction; probably this variation is simply due to a desire to vary the style. Köhler's statement, "Der got. Übersetzer scheint gefühlt zu haben, dass er seiner sprache etwas ihr eigentlich Fremdes zumuthet, wenn er den Dativ beim Passiv setzt, und das Re-

flexivum vorgezogen,"[1] is gratuitous in view of the Indo-European bearings of this Gothic dative with passives. *Ataugjan sik* is too palpably and correctly used in its literal meaning 'to show one's self' either to necessitate an intransitive 'to appear' or to be equated with a passive 'to be seen.' This much cannot be said of 1 Cor. 15, 5 or 1 Tim. 3, 16. It might be that Wulfila did try to avoid a similar Greek construction, but the inference need not be that a suitable substitute is an alternate of exact correspondence as well. That desire for variety played a large part in Wulfila's choice of words is evident from the same sentence-unit where another ὤφθη in the series is rendered *gasaihvans ist managizam*, ἐπάνῳ, 1 Cor. 15, 6. Furthermore, the impression gathered from 1 Tim. 3, 16, where we have another series of Greek passives, is that, alive to the finer requirements of stylistic technic, Wulfila varied his verbs accordingly, but that, despite Köhler's view above, with the passive of *ataugjan* he really wished and could render the Greek passive with a dative-instrumental of agency. In mere intransitive turns, he resorts indifferently to *sik ataugjan* or *in siunai wairþan* to render φανῆναι or ἑαυτὸν δεῖξαι.

§ 114. Mt. 5, 21 and 33 **þatei qiþan ist þaim airizaim**, ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις. Our modern English version, 'ye have heard it was said by them of old time,' encourages the view of agency, such as appears in Lk. 2, 21 with *fram*. Neither the Greek original nor the Anglo-Saxon version based on the Latin Vulgate can help us out. So the Anglo-Saxon has[2] *Ge gehyrdon þæt gecweden wæs on ealdum tidum, cwiden*, but the Northumbrian glosses the Latin 'dictum est antiquis' with *acueden is to ðæm haaldum*, whereas the Mercian reads, *þætte cwæden wæs þæm iu-monnum*. The intention of the Church Fathers was to take it 'to the ancients,' Chrysostomos, *Hom.* xvi.; accordingly Meyer[4], *Kommentar*, I. 1, 1858, p. 144 is correct in paralleling ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις with λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν in verse 22. So, too, Tholuck, *Ioannis Calvini in N.T. Comm.*[2] 1838, I. 147. Luther, "dass zu den Alten gesagt ist."

§ 115. In Rom. 7, 10 **bigitana warþ mis anabusns**, καὶ εὑρέθη μοι ἡ ἐντόλη, and 2 Cor. 12, 20, *jah ik bigitaidau izwis swaleiks swe ni wileiþ mik*, φοβοῦμαι μήπως . . . κἀγώ εὑρέθω ὑμῖν οἷον οὐ θέλετε, cf.

[1] *Germania*, XII. 64.

[2] From *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions, synoptically arranged . . . by* W. W. Skeat, Camb. 1871–87.

also Rom. 10, 20, we have to deal with two instances of the dative-agent developed from an original dat. commodi. Both Gk. *εὑρίσκομαι* and Germanic **bigetan*[1] admit of a dative of interest in the active, hence *μοί* and *ὑμῖν*, *mis* and *izwis* might well be retained datives in a developed sense. To my mind G-L.'s translation 'et inventum fuit mihi praeceptum' savors too much of an adjectival sense of the participle. That in Gothic the participia praeteriti must be considered as adjectives, especially when connected with the substantive verb,[2] I do not believe, because all past forms of the Greek passive, aside from their rendition by means of Gothic actives, must be expressed by periphrasis with *wisan* and *wairþan*.[3] Consequently these forms are finite passive verbs first of all.[4]

§ 116. Mk. 11, 17 **þata razn mein razn bido haitada allaim þiudom**, ὅτι ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, is *one* evidence of the errors practised in the interpretation of transitive verbs. Even if one allows that active transitive verbs of seeing in passive form must necessarily give the intransitive sense 'to appear,' a verb of naming and calling can remain nothing else but naming and calling even when passivized. Nothwithstanding, G-L. suggest "es sollte *allen Voelkern* als ein Bethaus gelten." Ags. *þæt mīn hūs fram eallum þēodum bīð genemneð gebedhūs*, rendering the Vulgate 'vocabitur omnibus gentibus,' clearly shows instrumental agency. Again, it may be that Gothic, as apart from the evidence of Ags., merely followed the prototype, in which case, of course, we have to do with a dative-agent as in § 115. For both cf. § 90 *a*, *b*.[5] Piper, *op. cit.* 29, classes *þiudom* among the instrumental datives. The OHG. *ther uuas uns io giheizan*, as often in Otfrid, means, of course, 'promised to us.'

§ 117. Rom. 14, 18 **waila galeikaiþ guda jah gakusans ist mannam**, εὐάρεστος τῷ θεῷ καὶ δόκιμος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. The Greek seems to have influenced the Gothic. But, then, *guda* is governed by *galeikan*, as 'placet domino'; *gakiusan*, on the other hand, is a transitive verb, *δοκιμάζειν*, hence *mannam* cannot be accounted for except on the ground of being a dative of agency, 'probatus est hominibus.' That it is not a dat.-inst. of agent, in spite of rather late Ags. *gecoren wære fram gode*, Blickl. Hom. 187, 20 — Caedmon

[1] Cf. *Synkretismus*, p. 38.
[2] Grimm, IV. 717.
[3] Cf. *Got. El.*[4] § 285, 3.
[4] Cf. Köhler, *Germania*, xi. 287.
[5] The Hebrew text of Is. 56, 7, בֵּיתִי בֵּית־תְּפִלָּה יִקָּרֵא לְכָל־הָעַמִּים is identical in sentiment with the Greek; cf. also Tob. 3, 11 and 1 Maccab. 7, 37.

has Dan. 92 *metode gecorene* — is shown by the consistent Gothic rendering of ἀδόκιμος by *ungakusans*.

§ 118. Mk. 10, 12 **jah liugada anþaramma**, καὶ γαμηθῇ ἄλλῳ may, according to §§ 28 and 36, (*a*), be taken as a real dat.-instrumental of agency. So, also, Piper, *op. cit.* 29; even Winkler, p. 84, "könnte auch bei den passivverben mit dem dativ der handelnden person genannt werden."

§ 119. Jh. 6, 13 **þatei aflifnoda þaim matjandam**, ἃ ἐπερίσσευσαν τοῖς βεβρωκόσιν and Lk. 9, 17 *þatei aflifnoda im gabruko*. The intent of the Greek passages is given by Alford, *The Greek Test.* I., *ad loc.*, as that they collected the fragments for their own use, each in his κόφινος.[1] So Meyer[4], *Kommentar, Johannes*, 1862, p. 217, "und jeder Apostel füllt mit dem Überfluss seinen Reisekorb." At the same time Wulfila may have had a different interpretation of the matter and, if not for the ambiguous character of the intransitive-inchoative verbs,[2] van der Meer's "wat overgelaaten werd door hen" could be justified by an example to be found in Skeir. 7, 27 which is another translation of Jh. 6, 13, but reads *þatei aflifnoda at þaim; matjandam* is lost in the fragment. That this *at* is the preposition found with verbs of taking, receiving, and finding in contradistinction to the Greek which in such cases emphasizes the 'direction from' by ἀπό, παρά, etc., is supported by 1 Thess. 4, 9, *unte silbans jus at guda uslaisidai sijuþ*, αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς θεοδίδακτοί ἐστε, 'von Gott belehrt'; 1 Tim. 6, 5 *at þaimei gatarniþ ist sunja*, καὶ ἀπεστερημένων τῆς ἀληθείας, 'by whom truth is perverted'; Lk. 10, 7 *driggkandans þo at im*, sc. *gibanona*, πίνοντες τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν. Consequently the possibility of Jh. 6, 13 and Lk. 9, 17 being each a dative-instrumental of agency is by no means excluded.

§ 120. In contradiction to van der Meer, p. 87, in Mk. 2, 26 **þanzei ni skuld ist matjan niba ainaim gudjam**, and in Lk. 6, 4, the dative should be taken with *skuld ist*, a dat. commodi, as in Mk. 6, 18 *ni skuld ist þus haban*.[3] The Ags. *þe him ne ālȳfede nǣron tō etanne, būton sācerdon ānum* supports this view. Therefore 'quos non licet manducare sacerdotibus.' For Lk. 9, 14 cf. Köhler, *Germania*, XII. 450 f. This exhausts the list of the Gothic examples available for discussion.

[1] Cf. Juv. *Sat.* 3, 14 quorum cophinus foenumque supellex.
[2] Cf. G-L. p. 138 and Streitberg, *Got. El.*[4] p. 188.
[3] Cf. Winkler, *Germ. Cas.* p. 24; Gering, *Zs. f. d. Phil.* 5, 420 f.

§ 121. To sum up: All together there are not many instances in Gothic of passive constructions with the subject designated; those with a prepositionless dative are very few. Of the verbs nevertheless found thus connected the majority are those of seeing, or finding, or calling, concepts, in a word, which could suggest an *à priori* explanation of these datives as datives of personal interest.[1] In the instance of the verbs of finding such an interpretation was indeed given on general I-E. grounds as well; in that of a verb of calling the intent of the Church Fathers was invoked to confirm a similar conclusion. In the discussion of *du saihvan im* the testimony of the Indo-Iranian, Balto-Slavic, and Greek traced the dative back to a common I-E. basis. Still, in the course of this investigation, each example being considered by itself, enough has been shown to prove that Gothic possesses both datives of agency that go back to original datives and such as present a variety distinct and separate from the usual run of dativi commodi and which, in fact, are traceable to an I-E. instrumental.

§ 122. That this is possible has been demonstrated, it is hoped, beyond a shadow of doubt in connection with the similar developments of other Indo-European languages and the establishment of the facts of Syncretism. I have, in accordance with this Indo-European development, constructed a similar scheme, deriving those of the Gothic dative-agents that may not be classified with the idea of personal interest, from an original sociative instrumental, thru the media of material means and personified agents.[2]

(*a*) There is not a single example in Gothic of what we have called the free comitative, since, altho in Pre-Germanic it surely must have been in use with verbs of motion like **ijjōm*,[3] it had gradually come to be displaced by the competing preposition *miþ*. Then, as van der Meer, p. 101, aptly remarks, "dergelijke gevallen komen ook niet voor in den Griekschen grondtekst." The Gothic thus cannot duplicate Ags. *folcē gestepte*, 'he proceeded with an army.' This is Winkler's reason, the lack of comitatives and of distinct instrumental forms in Gothic as against Ags., for deriving the Got. instrumental function from that all-embracing case, the

[1] Winkler, *op. cit.* p. 81.

[2] Delbrück in *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 123 totally disregards the possibility of such a gradation in the Germanic field; in *Synkretismus*, § 23, however, he seems to favor it.

[3] Cf. *Synkretismus*, § 19.

dative, whereas in the instance of Ags. he allows for it a comitative descent; *Germ. Cas.* p. 82, 90, etc.

(*b*) Numerous examples are found of the material instrumental,[1] *e.g.*

Jh. 19, 2 *wastjai paurpurodai gawasidedun ina*, attested by the pronominal form in Mt. 6, 25 *ve wasjaiþ*, τί ἐνδύσησθε. With a passive verb, Lk. 8, 28 *bundans was eisarnabandjom*, ἐδεσμεῖτο ἁλύσεσιν; cf. § 71*c*. The Document of Naples contains *ufmelida handau meinai* four times in a formulistic way. *Gaumjan* appears but once with the instrumental, Jh. 12, 40 *augam;* the assumption of a similar inst. of means with *saihvan* is justified by ON. *ef ek hann sjōnom of sék*, *Hýv.* 151, and Ags. *eagum segun*, *Cri.* 536.

(*c*) The means employed, however, could represent not only a material object but also a spiritual something, an event, a circumstance, an abstraction. Thus, the common *haitan namin*, ὀνόματι, as Ags. *sume worde het*, OHG. *thaz hiazi er io then worton.* So *daupau afdauþjaidau*, Mk, 7, 10 θανάτῳ τελευτάτω; cf. also Lk. 7, 29 and Mk. 10, 38.

(*d*) In Mk. 10, 38, *daupeinai þizaiei ik dauþjada*, the dat.-inst. is seen with a passive verb, and, in fact, denotes both the means and the agent, Brugmann's *Potenz* (*Grdr.*[2] II. 527) of the action. The next and penultimate stage in this evolution of means to agency would be instances like 2 Tim. 3, 6 *þoei tiuhanda lustum*, ἀγόμενα ἐπιθυμίαις ποικίλαις; Gal. 5, 18 *jabai ahmin tiuhanda*, εἰ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε; Eph. 4, 14 *uswagidai jah usflaugidai winda hammeh*, παντὶ ἀνέμῳ; Eph. 1, 13 *gasiglidai waurþuþ ahmin gahaitis*, τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας; Lk. 4, 38 *was anahabaida brinnon mikilai*, ἦν συνεχομένη πυρετῷ μεγάλῳ, etc. etc., where Gothic and Greek alike leave no doubt as to the agent of the action, which is no more tangible than abstract human agency, but is as much felt in its results as any ordinary instrument or tool of action. In fact, to have an instrumental of agency in Gothic — as apart from the dative-agent < dat. commodi — would be no more inconsistent with the genius of the language than to have a dative of instrument, the former by its very nature being but the latter in a transferred, quasi-dematerialized, and then personalized sense, to denote the subject-in-action as against the subject-in-inaction.

[1] Cf. *Vgl. Synt.* I. § 107 ff.; *Synkret.* § 22 ff.; Winkler, *Germ. Cas.* p. 100 ff.; van der Meer, § 81 ff.; Piper, 26 ff.

§ 123. In the light of the foregoing — designed partly to counteract the tendency of ascribing all of Wulfila's agreement with his prototype to mere imitation — the second difficulty, reference to which has been made in the introductory remarks of this section, may be easily removed. For, by that same argumentum ex silentio which, with perfect justification, has heretofore been applied to quantitatively unsatisfactory Gothic, the lack of sufficient instances of a dative-instrumental of agency ought not to preclude the possibility of its existence in that language. Delbrück, to cite but one example of such reasoning (*Synkretismus*, p. 240), acutely observes that, judging by the testimony of kindred Germanic dialects, the comitative must undoubtedly have been in use in Pre-Germanic. That, however, it is absent from Gothic should not be used as an argument against its ever having existed in Gothic. As it happens, Wulfila's Greek text is equally devoid of this construction. This lack, then, is a mere accident, due to the limited amount and the peculiar quality of the literature at our command. "Hätten wir ein Epos, so würde darin auch wohl der Fürst 'mit grossem Gefolge' auftreten und dieses letztere im Komitativ stehen." Accordingly, we cannot persuade ourselves, in possession if not of conclusive direct, yet, at least, of highly significant collateral, testimony on the part of related languages, either to deny the existence of a dat.-inst. of agency in Gothic, or to rest content with a verdict of ignoramus concerning it. Scarcity does not mean absence. In our case we simply must deplore the lack of further indisputable evidence.

**Anglo-Saxon.** § 124. The trouble Delbrück complains of (*Synkretismus*, § 73) in connection with the Gothic dative-agent, in that it always corresponds to a Greek dative and thus renders it difficult to grasp both its Germanic character and its original force, should partly be removed by the fact that a similar construction, even tho not abundantly exemplified because of analytic tendencies, occurs in early Anglo-Saxon also. The present investigation has restricted itself of necessity to the poetical works in this language, "was — to say with *Synkretismus*, Einl. p. 1 — wegen ihrer altertümlicheren Ausdrucksweise gerechtfertigt war."

§ 125. Little attention has been given to this phase of Ags. syntax. What we have consists practically of short notices in syntactical compendia to Readers, like Baskervill and Harrison, 1898, p. 51, or Sweet, 6th ed. 1888, p. 87. Kress, *Ueber den Gebrauch des*

*Inst. in der ags. Poesie*, 1864, neglects to mention it, as does also Nader in his *Dativ und Instrumental im Beowulf*.[1] For Cædmon, Hofer accords it a place, but not satisfactorily.[2]

§ 126. BEOWULF. — This earliest epic in any Germanic tongue is remarkable in that it contains, besides prepositional turns, a very rich abundance of such prepositionless datives as go back to former locatives, ablatives, and instrumentals more often absolutely reducible than not. A special form for the inst. exists only in the sg. masc. and neut. of certain adjectives and pronouns as well as of the present participles, but its functional fusion with the dative is evident also from instances where the latter, tho different in form from the inst., is employed to express the function of means. This dat.-inst. is found in all functions germane to our discussion.[3] Examples are not at all infrequent of pure concomitation with verbs of motion, like *cuman, faran, ge-lǣdan* etc., as 923 *tryddode getrume micle;* so *cordrum miclum, cordrē, hēapum, hergē, folce* etc. Transitional types are present, as 2936 *besæt sinherge sweorda lāfe*, 'surrounded with an army those that had escaped the swords.' The inst. of means is again unlimited in application — persons are also used as means, 1018 *Heorot innan wæs frēondum āfylled* — and is found likewise with passive expressions, 406, 2087 *sēowed smiðes orþancum;* 775 *īren-bendum besmiðod.* More personal instances are 217 *winde gefȳsed;* 2112 *eldo gebunden;* 3073 *wommum gewitnad* etc. Very near the actual agent is such a '*potential*' example as 991–2 *þā wæs handum — folmum gefrætwod*, or 3117 *þonne strǣla storm strengum gebǣded*, 'von den sehnen geschnellt.'

§ 127. The idea of agency itself, as relating to persons, is rare in Beowulf, *þurh* is not yet found in this sense, *fram* has only a locatival signification, as l. 110. Passive expressions are frequent enough, but the terseness of the style seems easily able to dispense with such defining elements as agency offers. The following examples have been selected for discussion.[4]

§ 128. l. 12 **þǣm eafera wæs æfter cenned geong in geardum** — Heyne-Schücking (HS.): 'dem wurde ein Sohn geboren.' A simi-

[1] Reviewed in *Eng. Stud.* VII. 368.

[2] *Der synt. Gebrauch des Dativs und Instrumentals in den Cædmon beigelegten Dichtungen*, Diss. Leipzig, 1884, and also in *Anglia*, VII. 355.

[3] The tenth Heyne-Socin-Schücking edition of *Beowulf*, Paderborn, 1913, is used.

[4] For others of the above types I must refer to Winkler, *Germ. Cas.* p. 448 ff.; Nader, *op. cit.; Synkret.* § 19 ff.

lar instance is l. 1357 *hwæðer him ænig wæs ær ācenned dyrnra gāsta*, for which cf. Winkler, p. 379. These lines bring up the question as to whether verbs of procreating, *erzeugen*, must be taken intransitively when in the passive. That there cannot be laid down an absolute rule governing the thought of all Indo-European languages need not be emphasized. However, consider Sanskrit which permits two points of view, ablatival, *RV.* 1, 123, 9 *śukrā́ kr̥ṣṇā́d ajaniṣṭa*, 'out of the darkness born,' and the other instrumental, of authorship, *sáhasā yó mathitó jā́yatē nr̥̀bhiḥ*, 'begotten by men'; so *RV.* 2, 25, 1. Avestan has ablative, cf. *V.* 2, 41 (Reichelt, § 475; Hübschmann, p. 234); so the Latin, *Telamone creatus*, Ov. *Met.* 13, 22; similarly Greek by means of an ablatival genitive, ὃ Διὸς ἐξεγένοντο, E 637. However, Slavic, again, uses the instrumental for the agent, in contradistinction to material origin which is in abl.-gen. (cf. for latter, Vondrák, II. 334), so Mt. 11, 11 *vъ rožděnychъ ženami*, ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν (Miklosich, IV. 704). For the Germanic, where datives represent both ablatives and instrumentals, either of the last two cases is permissible,[1] the former being safest in expressions of origin, as OHG. *sie sīn Alexanders slahtu*. Gothic has no examples at all.[2] The Old Norse correspondences will be enumerated in the next division, cf. § 146; it is premised, however, that *Grp.* 3, 3 *borinn Sigmundi*, is not to be rendered simply by 'born to S.' because of *Hdl.* 25, 3 *bornir frá Jǫrmunreki*. That in the Ags. we have to do with agency and not interest, is evidenced by the later more precise parallels, *El.* 775 *sē-ðe on rōde wæs ond þurh Mārian in middangeard ācenned weard; Blick. Hom.* 31, 24 *sē ilca sunu wæs ær eallum tīdum acenned fram God Fæder, sē Ælmihtiga from þon Ælmihtigan;* so 59, 25; 93, 28; 167, 20. For Ælfric, who uses *of* instead of *fram*,[3] cf. I. 10, 2, *hú ure hælend crist acenned wæs of þæm halgan mædene marian;* so 14, 75 etc. For the Bible Jh. 3, 6, *þæt þe of gaste is acenned*. Of course, in Beowulf we cannot as yet expect such prepositions, but it is safe to conceive of an unaltered and uniform mode of thought thruout. As to l. 1357, Trautmann's emendation[4] of it as *hwæþer hīe ænig hafaþ ær ācenned*, 'ob sie, die ungeheuer, irgend einer früher erzeugt hat der finstern geister,' is

[1] *ALI.* p. 13; *Synkretismus*, § 23.

[2] Cf. Grimm, IV. 714 to Mt. 1, 16 and Jh. 1, 13.

[3] Fischer, *Der synt. Gebrauch der Partikeln of und from in Ælfric's Heiligenleben* etc., 1908.

[4] *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, XVI. 76.

unnecessary. Ten Brink's interpretation[1] is more satisfactory, "den hätten die Erdbewohner Grendel gennant; man wisse nicht, ob sein Vater vor ihm schon irgend einen andern im Dunkel hausenden Geist gezeugt habe," but Schücking's translation in ed. 10, s.v. *a-cennan*, is different. For the construction cf. l. 1180.

§ 129. I am inclined to render l. 646, **wiste þǣm āhlǣcan hilde geþinged**, because of the context, as 'he knew that a fight was contemplated by the monster.' Hrōðgār left the hall not because 'er wusste dem scheusal im hochsale kampf bestimmt' by his own followers, but because he knew that Grendel calculated to appear *siððan hīe sunnan lēoht gesēon ne-meahton*. On the other hand, a translation like 'he knew that a fight was appointed unto the monster,' by Fate, that is, is fully in accord with the Anglo-Saxon conception of such occurrences.

§ 130. l. 1068 **Finnes eaferan hæleð Healf-Dena feallan scolde** —Zupitza's Autotype, p. 50, shows *eaferum*, but *eaferan* is accepted by Klaeber[2] following Trautmann.[3] If, with Wülker, Wyatt, Garnett, Hall, Tinker and Child, we do not follow Klaeber-Trautmann in making l. 1068 the end of the sentence, but consider it the beginning of the Finn-song, we can retain the MS. reading: 'thru [the instrumentality of] Finn's sons was Hnæf destined to fall.' This would obviate the change of *healgamen*[4] to *heal-guma*, 'a hall-man,' and the sense of the passage ends suitably with *mænan*, of which the subject is *healgamen*, meaning 'when Hrōðgār's bard was to proclaim joy in the hall along the mead-bench,' Clark Hall. This would also eliminate Thorpe's *be* and Socin's *fram*, — the latter I cannot accept because in no other place in Beowulf would *fram* be found thus used, — which disturb the meter, and would still allow *eaferum* to be taken in the same sense, as a dative-instrumental of agency. The resulting beginning with l. 1068 of the song, so taken also by Holthausen and Sedgefield, in no wise alters the rationale of the otherwise obscure episode.

§ 131. l. 1151 **þā wæs heal hroden fēonda fēorum**. In its unchanged form, cf. Zupitza, it has but one meaning, 'then was the hall strewn with the foemen's corpses,' *i.e. fēorum* is a dat.-inst. of means. But this is not in harmony with the context. Bugge's correction *roden*,[5] 'reddened,' recommended also by Sievers,[6] Rie-

[1] *Beowulf*, 1888, p. 95. [2] *Anglia*, 28, 443.
[3] *Bonn. Beitr.* II. 183. [4] Made by Trautmann, *Bonn. Beitr.* II. 183.
[5] *Tidskr. for Phil. og Paed.* VIII. 64, 295. [6] *PBB.* IX. 139.

ger,[1] and Gering,[2] is altogether correct despite its non-acceptance by Wülker, Socin and Wyatt. Schücking's tenth edition adopts *roden* and translates the passage, "da war die Halle rot von erschlagenen Feinden" and "von der Feinde Leichen gerötet," pp. 189 and 257. The rendering of either 'the hall was adorned with corpses' or 'the hall was covered with corpses' is inadmissible in the place. Trautmann[3] effects even a further change into *Đā wæs heal stroden fēonda folcum*,[4] and Barnow[5] to an impossible *þa wæs healcroda, feond afeorred.* Holthausen's suggestion[6] that since *feorum* cannot here denote 'corpses,' it is miswritten for *dreore*, as l. 447 *d. fāhne*, is really beside the mark. Add also Holtzmann, *Germania*, 8, 492. Whether we adopt Bugge's view and translate with Klaeber[7] 'the hall was made red by living beings,' as in *Exod.* 384, or Trautmann's emendation into 'darauf ward die halle geplündert von den haufen der feinde,' we have a dative-agent in both '*feorum*' and '*folcum*,' with more instrumental force in the MS. form.

§ 132. Trautmann's conception of l. 1103 as **þā him swā geþeahtod** [not HS. **geþearfod**] **wæs** would give the translation 'then it was decided by them' but this is undoubtedly too bold. — *Gu.* 1274 *hūsle gereorded*, 'eucharistiae recreatus'; *And.* 385 *þa he gereorded wæs*, 'cum cibo refectus erat' (Bouterwek, 115) and the meaning given *gereordian* in Ælfr. *Gram.* 26 'prandeo,' 'vescor,' ill agree with the HS. rendering of l. 1787, **þā wæs eft swā ēr ellen-rōfum flet-sittendum fægere gereorded**, as 'da ward wie vorher den Saalsitzenden das Mal gereicht.' The meaning is rather, 'there was suitable feasting by the strength-renowned heroes, the hall-company' — l. 1696 **h w ā m þæt sweord geworht . . ærest wǣre** — cannot, on the one hand, be taken as an instance of agency, even tho the maker's name does appear as on the oft-quoted horn of Gallehus[8] *ek hlewagastiR. holtinaR. horna tawiðo*, because of the presence in the sentence of *ērest*, if, that is, the signification 'at first' is to be attached to this word. If, on the other hand, *ērest* is to mean 'in olden times' as in l. 5 of Cædmon's *Hymnus* "*he ērest sceop eorðan bearnum*,"

[1] *Zacher's Zs.* 3, 404. [2] *Ibid.* 12, 124.
[3] *Bonn. Beitr.* 16, 65. [4] In *Bonn. Beitr.* 2, 190, he suggests *fērum.*
[5] *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, 1902, p. 232.
[6] *Zacher's Zs.* 37, 116. [7] *Anglia*, 28, 445.
[8] Cf. Noreen, *Altisl. u. altnor. Gram.* 1892, p. 257 ff.

and elsewhere, then *hwām* may be accepted as a case in point.

§ 133. l. 2035 **þonne hē mid fæmnan on flett gæð, dryht-bearn Dena duguða biwenede** — HS. would make of *duguða* an acc. pl. "während ein edler Spross der Dänen die Ritter bewirtete." For other interpretations cf. Kluge *PBB.* 9, 190 ff.; Rieger in *Zacher's Zs.* 3, 404 makes it an instrumental genitive, 'beneficiis adsuefactus'; Bugge, *PBB.* 12, 98 accepts Grein's *duguða bi werede*, 'in der Höflinge Schaar'; Holthausen, in *Zacher's Zs.* 37, 119, is for *duguðe bi werede*, *duguðe* being a genitive dependent on *werede* = *werode*. Thorpe's *duguðe biþēnede*, 'by the noble served,' is nearest of all to the sense of the passage; but, perhaps, Trautmann's rendering of the obscure word in the MS. as *beweotede* is a better transliteration,[1] and the change of the agent to *duguðum* is also more desirable, hence

> "wenn er mit der frau in die halle geht, mit der
> edelmaid[2] der Dänen, der *von ihren degen* bedienten."[3]

Finally, if we accept Sedgefield's text, even Trautmann's bold correction may be avoided, "From what follows it is evident that the young Danish bride is accompanied to her new home by a band of her father's thanes, *duguðe biwenede*," p. 173, and the follower referred to wears the captured Heathobard sword. Klaeber's equation of *hē* with *dryhtbearn* is unconvincing, both because it leaves *Dena* unattached and because it would make a Danish warrior of Ingeld.

§ 134. l. 2435 **wæs þām yldestan mæges dædum morðorbed strēd**, shows the passive verb with both a dat. incommodi and a dat.-inst. of the potential agent: *mæges dædum* is tantamount to *mæge*. Rieger's[4] change of *strēd* to *stȳred* on stylistic grounds is unwarranted. — A similar clear case of a dat.-inst. of agency is l. 2842, **Biowulfe wearð dryht-māðma dǣl dēaðe forgolden**, 'by B his share of lordly treasures was paid for with death.' So Trautmann's 'Von B. wurden bezahlt.'

§ 135. l. 2957 **þā wæs āht boden Swēona lēodum, segn Higelāce.** Trautmann changes *āht* to *æfst*, Klaeber *MLN.* 20, 85 disagreeing, to mean 'then was disaster bidden to the folk of Swedes, good for-

[1] *Bonn. Beitr.* 16, 114. [2] Noble descendant.
[3] Cf. besides Wyatt, *ad loc.* p. 86; *Eng. Stud.* 39, 464 f. and Klaeber in *Mod. Phil.* 3, 255. [4] *Zacher's Zs.* 3, 409.

tune to Hygelac.' Sievers' substitution, *PBB.* 9, 143, of *sæcc Hygelaces* for *segn* [*Hygelace*] proposed by Bugge, *Tidskr.* 8, 61, is not accepted by the latter in *PBB.* 12, 108, tho it would harmonize better with *æht*, cf. Klaeber, *Mod. Phil.* 3, 240. Schröer, *Anglia*, 13, 346 ff., points out that *æht* occurs nowhere else in the sense of 'Verfolgung' given to it in this passage by Sievers and insists on its real meaning 'possession, treasure' = 'hord' two lines before. The meaning of the whole passage would suffer if this were accepted. Bugge's opinion, *PBB.* 12, 18, that *segn Hygelāces* is in the same construction as *æht*, therefore 'then chase was offered to the Swedish folk, the banner of H. raised,' — "Das erhobene Banner ist das Merkmal der Verfolgung" as in *Hárbarðsljóð* 40 *ek vark í hernum, er hingat gørdisk gnæfa gunnfana geir at rjóða* — which would leave as the subject of *oferēodon* the Swedes, understood — so, too, Sievers, *PBB.* 9, 143 — has been neglected as to the second part by Holthausen, who makes *segn* the subject of that verb, 'the banners of H. overran the fastness.' I propose a modification of Schröer's view of a tentative compromise before the battle, '*wæs æht boden*,' and translate not as he 'then was the treasure of the Swedish folk, their banner offered to H., as a ransom,' but 'then was treasure offered by the Swedish folk, their banner to Hygelac.'[1] This rendition has the following advantages:

(*a*) It obviates Sievers' change of MS. *Hygelāce* to *Hygelāces;*

(*b*) It obviates Schröer's change of MS. *lēodu*(*m*) to *lēoda;*

(*c*) It retains the original and only meaning of *æht*, i.e. < *āgan*, to possess;

(*d*) It makes unnecessary Trautmann's *æfst* for MS. *æht.* The subject of *oferēodun* would be as in Sievers-Bugge above; *leodum* an instance of the dat.-inst. of agency.

§ 136. In conclusion I would like to draw attention to l. 2983 **þā him gerȳmed wearð** and l. 3088 **þā me gerymed wæs**, as being, at least in the former, amenable to an interpretation involving the original signification of *gerȳman*, as in 1086 *þæt hīe him ōðer flet eal gerȳmdon*, 'to clear, open.' So very often: *ic him līfes weg gerȳmde, El.* 1249; *se weg biþ us gerymed, An.* 1582, etc. If now l. 2983 is considered in this light, a translation 'when the power over the battle-field had been allowed them' is wholly unnecessary, because

[1] For the banner offered to H., tho in a different sense, cf. Cosijn, *Aanteekningen op den B.*, 1891, *ad loc.*

of the alternative of a more literal 'raised him quickly up when the place was cleared by them so that they could control the battle-field.' This brings to a close the list of examples in Beowulf.

§ 137. With the remark that most, if not all, of the emendations offered or adopted above are absolutely necessary, in view of the deplorably inaccurate condition of the MS. — "B. may, I believe, be conscientiously pronounced the worst," Thorpe — and of its often one-sided interpretation, we pass on to the real and alleged Cædmon whose *Hymn* is placed by Trautmann chronologically in line after Beowulf, at c. 600–700.[1] The question of authorship, of course, in a purely linguistic study of given texts, is of no importance whatsoever; reference may be made, however, to Körting, *Grdr. d. Geschichte d. engl. Literatur*, 1905, p. 42 ff., and p. 357 ff. of Bethge's *Ergebnisse und Fortschritte d. germanist. Wissenschaft im letzten Viertelj.*, Leipzig, 1902.

§ 138. As against Cynewulf, the next author to be considered, CÆDMON[2] still possesses a prepositionless dat.-inst. to express concomitation, as *Gen.* 1798 *drihtweras duguðum gefōran; Gen.* 2454 *hie behæfdon herges mægne Loth*, etc., tho that same prepositional competition seen in *Beow.* 1128 *mid Finne*, so l. 242–3, is making a greater headway here, *e.g. Ex.* 501 *Faraon mid his folcum;* so *Dan.* 67, *Sat.* 203, *Jud.* 170. The prepositionless dat.-inst. of means is also present, *Gen.* 2550, and persons are likewise used as means, *Gen.* 95, 1655. Impersonal agents with passives are also frequent, as *Gen.* 1293 *synnum gehladene; Dan.* 295 *lige belēgde.* Entirely in the sense of Brugmann's *Potenz* is *Dan.* 277 *dēaw-drīas weorðeð winde geondsāwen*, or *Dan.* 406 *þu gebletsad eart hālgum mihtum.*

§ 139. The following examples have been found for the dat.-inst. of agency:

[1] Cf. Trautmann, *Bonn. Beitr.* I. 121. Cædmon, it is true, died in the last quarter of the 7th century, but then the redaction of *Beowulf* is much later than the poem itself, altho L. Morsbach "*Zur Datierung des Beowulfepos*" (*Nachr. d. Göttinger Ges. d. Wiss., phil.-histor. Klasse*, 1906, p. 251 ff.) sets the date of *Beowulf* as late as 700–730, therefore about three hundred years before the MS. Cf. also A. Brandl, *Geschichte der ae. Literatur, Pauls Grdr.*[2] II. 991.

[2] No distinction as to genuine and spurious works is attempted here, entirely aside, of course, from the question as to Cædmon's real authorship of any of the poems. For dissertations, cf. those of Hofer, Oldenburg, Kempf, Dethloff, and Meyer on various syntactical points. All available editions have been drawn upon.

*Gen.* 1765 *fromcynne folde weorðeð þīne gefylled;*
*Gen.* 1967 *þā wæs gūðhergum be Jordane wera ēðelland geondsended, folde feondum;*
*Gen.* 1999 *gewiton feorh heora . . . flēame nergan, secgum ofslegene;*
*Sat.* 558 *þā wæs on eorðan ēce drihten folgad folcum;*
*Dan.* 92 *metode gecorene,* 150 *se wæs drihtne gecoren;*

so 736; *Jul.* 604 etc.; to be so taken because of the intent evidenced by the later use of '*fram*' [as *Blickl. Hom.* 187, 20 '*gecoren wære fram gode*' etc.] which here is used only locally, cf. Kempf, p. 37; Dethloff, p. 57; Meyer, p. 12. Other examples are not as clearly definable. Hofer (*op. cit.* p. 40 f.) approximates what seems to be the truth when, in speaking of the dat.-inst. of means he remarks, "wird . . . die aktive konstruktion in die passive verwandelt, so hat man zwei fälle von einander zu scheiden: Entweder das handelnde subjekt des aktiven satzes wird auch im passiven erwähnt, oder es kommt im wegfall. Im ersten falle bezeichnet auch bei passivem verb der vorhandene dat.-instr. dasjenige mittel, durch welches *vom logischen, handelnden subjekte*, — italics mine, — als dem ausgangspunkte, die tätigkeit des verbums auf das leidende subjekt, als den zielpunkt, übertragen und ausgeführt wird. Ist dagegen die letztere bedingung erfüllt, so erscheint das frühere mittel im dat.-instr. jetzt als veranlassende ursache." If we add that besides and beyond this '*Potenz*' that same acting subject itself may, and in *Beowulf* and *Cædmon* exclusively does, occur in the dat.-inst., his statement is more correct and complete.

§ 140. After Cædmon the tendency in poetry is entirely toward the analytical. While, for instance in the *Riddles*, which Sievers[1] assigns to the first half of the eighth century,[2] occurs but one doubtful example of the dat.-inst. of agency, ed. Grein xxi. 20 *ne weorþeð sio mægburg gemicledu eaforan minum*, that is, if the sense 'be magnified by my posterity' can stand, in the contemporary CYNEWULF[3] this is unknown. So in *Elene*, a typical poem, all personal author-

[1] *Anglia*, 13, 1 ff.

[2] So Tupper, *The Riddles of the Exeter Book, Albion Series*, pp. lviii and lxxix.

[3] Both his signed poems, *Juliana, Christ, Elene, The Fates of the Apostles*, and those attributed to him, *Andreas, Guthlac, Phoenix* and *Dream of the Rood*, have been read according to various editions. For a discussion of authorship, date etc. cf. A. Brandl in *Pauls Grdr.*[2] II. 1040 ff.; C. W. Kennedy, *The Poems of Cynewulf*, Lond. 1910; Körting, *Grdr.*[4] p. 49 ff.; Bethge's *Ergebnisse*, p. 364 ff.; *Bonn. Beiträge*, I. and XXIV. for bibliography up to 1908.

ship is expressed by the preposition *þurh*,[1] which in Cædmon was not found in such use.[2] So

*El.* 775 *sē-ðe on rōde wæs ond þurh Mārian in middangeard ācenned weard in cildes hād;*
840 *þā wæs hige onhyrded þurh þæt hālige treo;*
1058 *þurh gāstes gife gecorenne,* should throw a light on *Dan.* 92, 150, 736:
1153 *wæs se wītedom þurh fyrnwitan sungen* etc. in spite of turns like
1243 *ic wæs weorcum fāh, synnum āsāled, sorgum gewāled, bitre gebunden, bisgum beþrungen,* cf. also 1264.

§ 141. '*Fram*' is not yet used for denoting the personal agent, despite Kent's glossary, ed. 1899 of *Elene*: l. 701 is simple means; l. 1141 is purely locative and l. 190 *swā fram Siluestre lærde wæron,* while undoubtedly auctorial in intent, permits the locative force to be still distinctly felt, cf. German '*von seiten.*' Analytic uses, however, as such are quite common; *mid* is employed with both dativa1 and instrumental forms to express not only comitation but pure means. *Andreas,* a work much influenced by *Beowulf,* was examined for statistics of the notation of means, — in *Beowulf* regularly prepositionless. The result: 166 instances of pure dativa1 or instrumental form, in the broadest sense, including manifold repetitions of the same words, such as *mihtum, cræftum, mægene,* which are really poetic stock-words, and also modals like *hludan stefne, heapum* etc.; *þurh,* 42 times; *mid,* 10 times; *of,* 3 times. And so on in succeeding works. In the *Byrhtnoð* of later date, c. 991, the pure instrumental is almost entirely given up, to be circumscribed by *mid c. prep.* This, against *Judith,* for instance, where the old usage is still predominant in a 2 : 1 ratio, is significant of the progress of analyticism. So, in turn, the relation of *Judith* to *Exodus* is 4 : 1, and of the latter to *Beowulf,* as above. In OE. *Orrmulum,* c. 1200, the instrumental usage, with the exception of petrified locutions, has entirely disappeared.[3] Naturally personal agency

[1] Cf. Simons, *Cynewulfs Wortschatz, Bonn. Beitr.* III. p. 144, for examples.

[2] The dissertations of Taubert, Schürmann, Conradi, Reussner and Rose are of interest in this connection.

[3] Cf. Funke, *Kasus-syntax bei Orrm und Laȝamon,* Diss. München, 1907, Einl. IV. and p. 55 ff.; Swane, *Studien zur Casus-syntax des Frühmittelenglischen,* Diss. Kiel, 1901, p. 61.

with passives is expressed by means of prepositions, as *Orrm.* 12846 *þatt he wass þewwtedd unnderr æ þurrh Issraæle þeode*, and we meet with no more instances of the dat.-inst. of agency.[1]

**Old Norse.** § 142. The investigation of ON. was thought to be important both 'an und für sich' and in confirmation of results reached in the discussion of the Gothic. "Ich zweifle nicht, says

[1] The various stages of auctorial expressions with passives in English might be given as, (*a*) *prepositionless dat.-inst.*; (*b*) *þurh with the accusative*; (*c*) *fram with the dative*; (*d*) *of with the dative, and lastly* (*e*) *be or by, as to-day.* For (*a*) cf. *Beowulf*; for (*b*), *Cynewulf.* As to *fram, from*, there are all together about seven examples of it in Ags. poetry, to wit *Cyn. El.* 190 *fram Siluestre*; *Crist* 1617 *scyle from his Scyppende ðscyred weorðan*; *Soul and Body* 46 *ic wæs gæst on þē from gode sended*, really locatival; *Metra* 20, 245 *swā him lȳfed wæs from þām ælmihtigan*; *Psalms* 67, 23 *from þām þine gangas wæron gesewene*, 113, 23 *wesað gē fram gode geblētsade*; *Pater Noster* 3, 87 *þe fram wīfe and fram were wurdon ācenned.* (Cf. pp. 2 and 21 of Wullen, *Der synt. Gebrauch der Präp. fram, under in d. ags. Poesie*, Kiel Diss. 1908.) In *Ælfred fram* is the rule, *of* the exception. (Cf. Harstrick, *Untersuchungen über die Präp. bei Alfred.* Diss. Kiel, 1890, p. 13.) Interesting is *B.* 3, 14 *he wæs fram eallum monnum lufad.* (For the *Blickl. Hom.* as 187, 20 *þu ær gecoren wære fram gode*, cf. p. 86 ff. of Fischer, *Der Synt. Gebrauch der Partikeln of und fram in Ælfric's Heiligenleben und in den Blickling-Homilien.* Leipzig Diss. 1908.) In Chaucer and onward *from* is only locatival, as at the very beginning, *from Pluto sent, at requeste of Saturne*, II. cf. Einenkel, *Streifzüge durch die me. Syntax*, Münster, 1887, pp. 44.— *Of* fluctuates for a while with *from*, so Ælf. *O.* 154, 28 *seo burg wæs getimbred of Lacedemonium*, but *O.* 164, 10 *sio wæs getimbred from Elisan þæm wifmen.* (Cf. Hardstrick, *op. cit.* p. 5 and Jacobsen, *Der synt. Gebrauch der Präp. for, geond, of und ymb in d. ae. Poesie*, Kiel Diss. 1908.) With *acennan of* is regular in *Ælfred.* Certainly less frequently used in OE. than *fram, of* begins to gain ground on the latter preposition in *Sax. Chron. E, F* and the interpolations of *A.* (Cf. Bødtker, *Critical Contributions to Eng. Syntax*, Christiania, 1908, p. 6.) The extensive ME. use of *of* as in *Chaucer* 6, 309 *thi wille fulfillid be of thi sone*, is attributed by Einenkel, *op. cit.* 162, to the influence of OF. *de*, as *Joinv.* 232 *il estoient si pressei des Turs que* etc. — *Be*, modern *by*, is the regular preposition of agency in MnE., rarely *of*, as against ME. *of*, rarely *by*. Despite Einenkel, p. 131, *be* is found denoting the personal means before *Chaucer*, as *Ælfr.* 2, 170, 14 *sum eawfæst man sende twegen butrucas mid wine be anum cnapan.* (Cf. Gottweiss, *Die Synt. der Präp. æt, be, ymb in den Ælfric-Homilien, Anglia*, 28, 353.) Nay, even in the sense of the personal agent, *Beda* 637, 3 *ða ðe be him gedōne wæron*; so *Blickl. Hom.* 163, 27. Farther back, in Cædmon, *Gen.* 598 *þæt wurde þegn swā monig forlædd be þam lygenum.* (Cf. also Dusenschön, *Die Präp. æfter, æt und be in der ae. Poesie*, Diss. Kiel, 1907.) Its modern use, in spite of its infrequency in Ags. and OE., is attributed by Einenkel, p. 132, to the influence of French *par*, as *Chev. Lyon* 5127 *que ia par toi n'iert reconté.*)

Bernhardt,[1] dass diese beiden zweige am frühsten dem gemeinsamen stamme der germanischen ursprache entwuchsen. Nicht minder zeigt sich in der syntax zwischen beiden übereinstimmung, und aus der reicher fliessenden quelle des altnordischen ist für das gotische oft verständnis zu gewinnen." To establish such a similarity, the entire poetic Edda[2] has been covered as more important for case-syntax than the prose-literature;[3] quite a number of examples, however, have been adduced from the later prose-literature, a comprehensive syntax of which is now being prepared by Streitberg.[4]

§ 143. In the instance of the Edda we have not to deal, as in Gothic, with a text that is open to the charge of vitiation by dependence upon a foreign original, but in return we are confronted with the difficulty inherent in late recensions. How far the oldest MSS. we possess may be taken as an exemplar of the language of the time of composition and how far we may speak of alterations in the texts made by some officious meddler to bring the old lines more in accord with the linguistic status or metrical technique of his time, will always remain one of the moot questions of Eddic research. Certain it is that the text transmitted to us shows considerable corruption: "gegenüber dem törichten gerede, dass der Eddatext, wie die handschriften ihn bieten, 'von gebildeten Isländern und Norwegern im 13. und 14. jahrhundert verstanden und gewürdigt worden sei' — muss dies einmal mit aller entschiedenheit betont werden."[5] Hence the absolute necessity of textual revision, a fact which in following paragraphs must always be kept in mind.

§ 144. Morphologically Old Norse has only such formations as are syntactically worthless.[6] The language of the Eddic poems, as such,[7] is essentially the same as that of the older Skaldic poetry.

[1] *Beitr. z. d. Phil.* Halle, 1880, p. 73.

[2] Ed. Hildebrand-Gering[8], 1912.

[3] Cf. *Synkretismus*, Einl. 1.

[4] Cf. *IFA.* for 1906, announcements.

[5] Gering, Introd. to *Hildebrand*[2].

[6] Noreen, *Gesch. d. nord. Sprache*,[2] 609; *Synkretismus*, p. 152 ff.

[7] The consensus of scholars in general is that they did not arise all at the same time, but that centuries must have elapsed between the oldest, such as *Vǫlundarkviða*, *Hávamál*, and the youngest poems, none, however, originating before the first half of the ninth century, all being composed in the Viking period, *i.e.* c. 800–1050. Cf. Mogk, *Gesch. d. Norwegisch-Isländischen Lit.*[2] 1904, *Pauls Grdr.*[2] II. 567 ff.; Sijmons, *Die Lieder der Edda, Einleitung*, § 28; Bugge, *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, 5, 2; Finnur Jónsson, *Litt.-Hist.* I. 47.

To reduce the oldest of the former to Proto-Norse forms would disturb their metric arrangement.[1] In fact, such a thorogoing linguistic unanimity exists between all of them that it seems as if no decisive change at all had taken place in the language during the Viking period. As against this, witness the manifest advance in case-syntax, especially with regard to prepositional usages, from the Edda to the oldest, tho nevertheless younger, prose-works.[2]

§ 145. For the genealogy of the dative-instrumental of personal agency, as established in the foregoing divisions and chapters, the following examples may be offered.[3]

(*a*) Pure concomitation is extremely common in Icelandic. For the Edda, *Vsp.* 36, 2 *ǫ́ fellr austan sǫxum ok sverþum;* 51, 4 *þeim es bróþir Býleists í fǫr; HHv.* prose 12, *Helgi ok Atli lágu skipum í Hatafirþi; Akv.* 17, 2 *sem hjǫlmum aringreypum at sea heim Atla.* But already here *meþ* competes. *Vsp.* 51, 3 *fara fiflmeger meþ freka aller;* so *Hdl.* 5, 2.

(*b*) Nearer the instrumental is the sociative found so strange by Winkler, p. 470, "*rīda mar innum melgreipa Myrkvid ōkunnan* (*Akv.* 3, 2, *riþa mar enum mélgreypa Myrkviþ ókunnan*) = auf dem gebissknirschenden rosse durch den unbekannten schwarzwald;" so *Hrbl.* 53 *ró þu hingat bátinum.* Non-Eddic, *reru ǫllum skipunum, Hkr.* 225, 16; *riðr Nótt þeim hesti, Sn. E.* 7 (cf. Lund, p. 86). Because of phrases like *reið á vargi, HHv.* 35, 1, a locatival conception is by no means impossible here.[4]

(*c*) There is nothing that cannot be expressed as an instrument, "als werkzeug des schlages können auch personen dargestellt sein." (Dietrich in *HZ.* 8, 62.)

(*d*) Passive expressions with the common inst. of pure means are common, *sleginn sessmeiðum, Akv.* 14, 3; *Atli slegenn róg-þornum,* 31, 2; *Guþrún hlaþen halsmenjum, Am.* 43, 4; so *Hkr.* 346, 16 *hann var gyrðr sverði;* 2, 168 *var hǫndum tekinn,* etc., etc.

[1] Hoffory, *Eddastudien*, p. 36 ff.

[2] Cf. Gebhardt, *Beitr. z. Bedeutungslehre der awn. Präpositionen*, Leipzig Diss. 1896.

[3] For further information, cf. Detter-Heinzel, II.; Dietrich in *Haupt's Zs.* VIII. 23 ff.; Lund's *Ordføjningslære;* Nygaard's *Eddasprogets Syntax* and *Norrøn Syntax*, finally Winkler, *Germ. Cas.* p. 454 ff. The various abbreviations are those used in Hildebrand-Gering[8].

[4] Cf. *ALI.* p. 58.

(*e*) Passive expressions with instruments that are nearer to the notion of agency than that of means, *Gþr.* III. 4, 2 *of borin verkjum;*[1] *HH.* II. 37, 3 *dýrkalfr dǫggo slungenn; Vǫl.* 4, *þá vas grund gróin grønum lauki;* so *Vegt.* 5, *var ek snivin snjóvi ok sleginn regni ok drifin dǫggu;* the concept of agency appears very clearly in *Akv.* 34, 2 *í garð þanns skriþinn vas innan ormum,* 'perreptatum anguibus'; *Fornm. Suð.* 70, 26 *ǫll hǫllin mun vera skipuð hrœðilegum ormum,* to which cf. *Sn. E.* I. 496 *frá láþi Finnum skriþnu;* real auctorial in *Nj.* 153, 52 *hann var vel vinum horfinn,* so in *Droplaugarsona Saga,* 34; *Egilss.* ed. F. Jónsson, 1886, VIII. l. 20, *hann virðiz þar vel huerjum manni;* similarly in *Hlfd.* ed. Fridrikson, 1847, 4 *virðist konunginum hann afbragðsmaðr* whose meaning is attested by *Stjórn.* 458 *hann var virðr minnzt af þeim. Norðimbraland var mest byggt Norðmǫnnum,* Fornm. I. 23, to which cf. *Ólafssaga* in Flat. I. 16, N. *er kallatt af Nordmonnum sidan bygdu þat.*[2] Follows the discussion of examples from the Edda.

§ 146. *Vm.* 25, 2 **en Nǫtt vas Nǫrvi borin** is explained from the connection with § 128 under Ags. *ācennan.* Already Grimm, IV. 714 recognized the instrumental nature of the datives with verbs denoting "das erzeugt und geboren werden, wobei freilich in unsrer sprache fast nur das part. prät., weil die passivflexion aufhört, in betracht kommt." So Delbrück in *ALI.* p. 13, and *Synkretismus,* p. 173. Not so, however, others who class whatever examples of this kind are known to them under the functions of the real dative, as Dietrich in *HZ.* 8, 53 and Nygaard, *Edd. Synt.* I. 17 "medens man i Udtryk som *nótt var Nörvi borin* har egentlig Hensynsbetegnelse." Right here may be enumerated all similar examples from the Edda, besides *Vm.* 25, 2.

*Vm.* 38, 5 *ok vasat hann ǫsum alinn*
*Alv.* 29, 3 *hvé sú nǫtt heitir, en Nǫrvi kenda*
*Rþ.* 43, 1 *Upp óxu þar Jarli bornir*
*Hdl.* 12 *þú est, Óttarr! borinn Innsteini* etc.
*Hdl.* 25, 2 *allir bornir Jǫrmunrekki*

[1] Cf. Dietrich, *HZ.* 8, 53.

[2] The dative in combination with *vera* and the present participle to denote necessity must naturally be taken as a real dative of interest (cf. Lund, p. 119 ff.; Winkler, p. 463; *Nor. Synt.* p. 99; *HZ.* 8, 52). *at yðr sé þat vel geranda, Hkr.* 357, 26; *er þér þess ecki biðjanda,* 'derom bör du ikke bede,' 'hoc tibi petendum non est,' *Egilss.* 60, 22; *er öngum dugandi manni er geranda,* 'hoc nulli homini faciendum est,' *Alex.* 47.

*Hdl.* 29, 1 *borinn Hrǿrekki*

*Fj.* 6, 1 *hverjum estu, sveinn! of borinn; cf. Fm.* 1, 1

*Vkv.* 2, 1 *Hlaþguþr ok Hervǫr Hlǫðvé bornar;* So Hildebrand-Regius: *borin var Hlǫðvé*, and Jónsson[1]: *vas Hlǫðve borin*

*Grp.* 3, 3 *Sigurþr heitik, borinn Sigmundi*

*Gþr.* I. 24, 3 *of borinn Buþla, bróþirminn;* cf. *Sg.* 55, 5, and *Sg.* 15, 2.

*Od.* 10, 4 *sem vit brǿþrum tveim bornar vǽrim*

*Hm.* 2, 5 *es hvatti Guþrún, Gjúka borin*

*Grt.* 9, 4 *bróþr bergrisa, þeim erum bornar.* — Both *ala* and *bera* are extensively used in the active in the sense of 'beget, bring forth'; so

*Hdl.* 42, 1 *ól ulf Loke viþ Angrboþo*

*Hdl.* 37, 3 *nio bǫ́ro þann jǫtna meyjar*, etc.

And yet the nature of our language is such that we are unable to render them correctly not only in the passive but even in the active; Cpb. is constrained to translate *HH.*I. 1, 3 *þa hafþi Helga Borghildr borit*, 'H. was born of B.' — Further notes follow.

§ 147. *Vm.* 25, 2. For Grimm cf. § 146. That, at any rate, ON. linguistic consciousness did not conceive of such examples as pure datives of interest, not to speak of dative-objects,[1] is evidenced from instances like the *Flateyjarbók* version of *Hdl.* 25, 2 *allir bornir frá Jǫrmunrekki.* This example would indicate a later clearing up of the I-E. confusion of the instrumental with the ablative[2] — since we have no *frá* in the Edda in this sense — in the same way as *fon* has become predominant in OHG. with verbs of descent.[3] But since *af* is the regular Norse preposition in this use, as in *hón var af Most kynjuð ok fædd, Fornm.* 10, 384; *ættadr af Arabia, Alex.* 39, Detter-Heinzel's comment upon the passage in question, II. 627, is not at all improbable. "Die Construction mit '*frá*' statt des nackten Dativs deutet vielleicht an, dass sie nicht Söhne, sondern Enkel, Urenkel Jörmunreks waren. S. oben 8 *koma frá*, unten 25 *uera frá.* Aber *koma frá* wird unten 38 von directer Descendenz gebraucht."

§ 148. *Vm.* 38, 5 **ǫ́sum alinn**, in Regius and Arnam. — Hildebrand's and Sijmons' insertion of *meþ* before *ǫ́sum* is gratuitous.

[1] Gíslason, *Eft. Skrifter*, II. 23.

[2] Cf. *ALI.* p. 12. ff.; and § 128 of this dissertation.

[3] Cf. Erdmann, *Untersuchungen über die Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, Halle, 1874–6, II. 245 ff.; Graff, *Die ahd. Präp.* 236.

Delbrück, *ALI.* 13 and *Synkret.* 173, translates the line, "er wurde nicht *von den Asen* erzeugt"; so *Vm.* 25[2] "die Nacht war *von Nǫr* gezeugt." Detter-Heinzel, II. 165 "Der nackte Dativ kann im Passivconstructionen statt des mit *af* verbundenen stehen." Lund, 120, classes this example among the uses of the dat. of interest. So Dietrich, *HZ.* 8, 53 "weil hier zugleich ein besitz des geborenen vorhanden ist"; for Winkler, cf. *Germ. Cas.* 510. Wisén, *Om ordfogningen*, 40, holds an ablatival view, somewhat like Erdmann's conception[1] of Ot. 1, 5, 23 *thū scalt beran einan . . . fatere giboranan ebanēwigan* as "*von*, oder besser *aus* dem Vater geboren als ein gleichewiger." This would also be supported by Fm. 3, 2 *af hverju vast undri alinn.* However, if the material in § 128 has any weight, then, besides the ablative[2] we must surely allow an equally strong instrumental possibility — a dativa1 sense we must grant *à priori* because of the morphological aspect of the case —; and, for the OHG., Grimm's suggestion, "schöner wäre *faterû*" for Otfrid (cf. Grimm, IV. 714) is not now quite as decisively to be rejected as Erdmann would have us believe. *Hdl.* 19, 4 presents still another verb of begetting, *enn Hildi vas Hǫlfr of getinn*, the reading being that of Bugge in *Ark.* 1, 249 ff. The active is represented in 42, 2 *en Sleipni gat* [*Loki*] *viþ Svaþilfera.*

§ 149. *HHv.* 21, 3 **ef mér's alhugat.** Cf. *Glums.* c. 4. *mér mun mest um hugat.* For personal datives with impersonal verbs Dietrich, *HZ.* 8, 51 gives a rule, "Dies ist besonders der fall bei gesinnungen und seelenzuständen die wir nicht machen, die über uns, an uns kommen, so wie bei ähnlichen leiblichen zuständen, dann auch namentlich bei sonstigen absichtslos und zufällig vorgenommenen handlungen, und bei den naturvorgängen in denen eine uns fremde macht, ein es da [*sic*] wir nicht begreifen, uns nützlich oder schädlich wird." Clearly there is a danger of subsuming too much under this category. Much will depend on the nature of the verb itself: *fannst mǫnnum mikit um hana*, *Hkr.* 27, 7 may be *à propos*, but a similar impersonal, *dvaldist hánum í þeiri ferð*, *Flat.* I. 42, might be taken as a dat.-inst. of agency. So, while mental states like *þykkir mér* (cf. Gothic *ƕa izwis þugkeiþ*, Mt. 26, 66), *mér skilz*, *mér minniz* and even *honum skyzt*, 'he loses his way' etc. are surely datives of interest, they cannot be classed with instances like *konunginum varð litit*, *Fa.* 3, 456; *varð henni opt gengid*, *Od.*

[1] *Untersuchungen*, II. 245.

[2] Misteli, in *Zs. f. Völkerpsych. u. Sprachwiss.* x. 160, scouts this alternative.

3, 49; *Þrándi ok Þorgrimi varð mart talat, Flat.* I. 556, 5; *varð þeim ok mart talat, Laxd.* 248, 24; *honum mundi helzt misgert í vera at fara at mér,* [*Nj.* 124, 114 '*af ham* vilde der især være handlet ilde ved at,' *Norr. Synt.* p. 99]; *þótti hánum sér þá skjótara fyrnast líflát Droplaugar* ['snarere glemmes *af ham*,' Lund, p. 119]. *Dropl.* 9. Of course *HHv.* 21, 3 is a dative of interest, but 31, 3 *hví's þér, stillir! støkt ór landi* will have to be explained differently. Cf. Detter-Heinzel, II. 359 ff.

§ 150. *HH.* II. 8, 6 **Því vas á lǫgi [mér] litt steikt etit.** — Gering omits the *mér* of Regius; Bugge and Heinzel retain it, so Munch Grundtvig and Jónsson in their several editions: *mér* is the logical subject. But in 8, 5 the Cod. Reg. *er sagt m*$^{s}$ cannot be taken as *mér*, because that is not the required sense of the passage, despite the Copenhagen edition and that of Hagen. Hildebrand's *mǽr* is much better.

§ 151. *HH.* II. 18, 1 **esat þer at ǫllu, alvitr! gefit.** Gering's rendering of this line, *Wb.* s.v., "dir ist nicht in jeder beziehung glück beschieden gewesen" is correct only in case the above reading is accepted, and even then uncommon for the Edda. But the *gēt* of the Codex Regius is the usual contraction not for *gefiþ* as the MS. would imply, but for *getit.*[1] If this reading is allowed to stand, then *þer* must be construed as a dative-agent. The sense of the passage in this form is entirely satisfactory: The situation is that of the valkyrja Sigrún who is *alvitr* and aids Helgi in his battles, coming to meet him after the carnage in which he could not help slaying his antagonists, Sigrún's father and brother. He receives her with such words, "All turned out well, but *you did not get everything your way*, all-wise tho you are, I have killed your father and brother; but then you could not prevent it, — some of this was Fate's doing." This interpretation of the lines is borne out by the sense of 20, 3 *vanntat vígi, vas þer vǫ skǫpuþ*, for which cf. Detter-Heinzel, II. 374, and has the advantage of a correct reading without the necessity of an unusual translation.

§ 152. *Fm.* 21, 1 **ráþ's þér ráþit.** So Regius; Grimm's (ed. 1815) and Ettmüller's reading of *mér* for *þér*[2] which Cpb. follows

[1] Cf. Hildebrand-Gering$^{3}$, p. 263 fn. and Cpb. notes *ad loc.* Wimmer og Jónsson's note to the MS., on p. 147 of their phototype edition of the Edda: "l. 25, *geꝛıþ*] rettet fra *t*; stregen over *ꝛ* synes at vise, at der, således som også Bugge formoder, s. 196, først har været skrevet *geī ɔ*: *getit.*"

[2] In *Germania*, 17, 12.

is unwarranted and unsatisfactory: it is Sigurþr that speaks these words to Fáfnir, who in verse 20 has been telling him *ráþk þer nu, Sigvǫrþr, en þu ráþ nemir.* Hence Nygaard[1] is entirely correct in interpreting *þér* as '*af dig.*'

§ 153. The following two examples are of interest because they might give the impression of containing analytic substitutes for the expression of agency in the Edda. *Gþr.* II. 4, 4 *ǫll vǫru sǫþuldýr sveita stokkin ok of vaniþ vási und vegǫndum.* Cod. Reg. has *of* instead of *und*, adopted by Bugge, Grundtvig etc. as against Rask, Copenhagen ed., Munch and Ettmüller's *af;* cf. Detter-Heinzel, II. 493. But *af* to denote agency, tho common later,[2] as *Flat.* 1, 69, 14 *þa var Gudefridus drepinn af sinum monnum*, is unknown to the Eddic poems. The only other example to be considered is *Gþr.* II. 34, 2 *þann munk kjósa af konungum ok þó af niþjum nauþug hafa*, but since *nauþug* is an adjective, the relation is local, 'tho coerced on the part of my relatives,' or, if differently interpreted, causal, 'him will I then choose among kings and have, tho constrained, simply because of my relatives;' for the latter cf. also *Hdl.* 43, 3 *varþr Loptr kviþogr af kono illre*, where we have an adjective with *af.*

§ 154. *Ghv.* 10, 2 **vask þrimr verum vegin at húsi**, 'I was led home by three men,' may well be another instance of a dat.-inst. of agency. The Gothic *gasandjan sik*, 'to be led,' takes *fram* in this use, as in 2 Cor. 1, 16. Even Winkler says, p. 476, "eigentümlich ist der instrumental des mittels, falls nicht der dativ der beteiligung vorliegt, mit dem ausdruck des persönlichen agens z. b. in der folgenden stelle: *var ek þrimr verum vegin at hūsi = von drei männern heimgeführt.*"

§ 155. *Hm.* 7, 2 **bǿkr vǫru þínar þenar bláhvítu valundum roþnar, flutu í vers dreyra.** Such is Hildebrand-Gering's reading, against Cod. Reg. *ofnar vǫlundum*, apparently because of the support of *Ghv.* 4, 3 *bǿkr vǫru þínar enar bláhvítu roþnar í vers dreyra, fǫlgnari valblóþi*, the sense being 'thy blue-white bed-covers were reddened by the deadly wound, they swam in the blood of thy husband.' Cpb. even substitutes *fǫlgnar* for *flutu*, 'bathed in his blood.' Because of the fact that '**valund*, f. todeswunde'[3] is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, it were best to return to the reading

[1] *Norrøn Syntax*, p. 99.

[2] Probably under Latin influence, cf. Falk og Thorp, p. 170.

[3] Cf. Gering, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.

of the Codex, accepted by Hagen, Rask, Copenhagen ed., Munch, and Detter-Heinzel. So Lund, p. 119 'vævede af Kunstnere,' followed by Nygard, *Eddaspr. Synt.* p. 17; 'ab artificibus contexta' in Copenhagen ed. Cf. Detter-Heinzel, II. 576 "Deine *von Künstlerinnen gewebten* Betttücher wurden von dem Blute deines Mannes besprenget." For *vǫlundum* cf. Fritzner, *Ordbok*, and *Sturl.* I. 278, *Þiðr.* 69, 82.

§ 156. Such are the examples from the Eddic poems. In the light of the testimony of Gothic and Anglo-Saxon as to the existence of a dative-instrumental of personal agency, they cannot be mere accidents. "Anomalien im satzbau — says Dietrich in *HZ.* 13, 124 in another connection — können, so lange sie nur vereinzelt in einem alten texte vorliegen, desto mehr zum zweifel an der überlieferung oder ihrer auffassung, beziehungsweise bei einem schriftsteller zum corrigieren veranlassen, je mehr sie gegen die gewöhnliche logik moderner oder alten sprachen verstossen. Sobald eine solche erscheinung indes durch noch mehrmaliges vorkommen in demselben dialecte oder durch auftreten auch in einem verschiedenen dialecte stützen empfängt, muss sich der zweifel in forschen nach dem grund der abweichung verwandeln." This might be taken as a precise statement of the case with respect to the Germanic dialects. The dative and the instrumental, in their respective functions, were found to be ill-defined and confused. This was especially true of them in the domain of agency. The datives that denoted the personal agent with passive verbs could not all be reduced to the basic concept of a dativus commodi; in the case of a considerable number sufficient reason was produced for a dissent from their older interpretation and in favor of their classification as original instrumentals. The collateral testimony of other Indo-European languages lent added weight to these findings in confirming the development of the Germanic sociative-comitative into the dative-instrumental of agency.

## CONCLUSION

§ 157. The deductions gained from the preceding chapters may be summarized as follows:

(*a*) The Indo-European languages express personal agency, *i.e.* the logical subject, with passive verbs either by means of an unaided case-form or thru a prepositional phrase. As a rule the prepositional locution is the direct product of later analytic tendencies, whereas the prepositionless devices are resorted to in the older or synthetic stages of a language. The Indo-European languages may be said to employ four case-forms to denote the agent of a passive action: the instrumental (Slavic, § 53), the dative (Latin, § 38), the genitive (Lithuanian, § 56) and the ablative (Armenian).[1] Of these the instrumental-agent is really a personalized instrumental of means; the dative-agent in reality designates personal interest; the ablative emphasizes the idea of separation; finally, the genitive of agency is but an adnominal genitive of possession.

(*b*) Judging by the combined testimony of Latin, Slavic, Sanskrit and Avestan, § 37, the instrumental and the dative case-forms met in the function of agency already in the Indo-European *Ursprache:* the perfect (passive) participle, namely, could be connected with both an instrumental and a dative of agency. Whilst, however, we may speak of a competition in that domain between the two cases, this rivalry is not to be thought of as one of complete synonymity. Both could represent the logical subject but, at the same time, each stood for a different type of this subject. The instrumental expressed the agent as an outer, moving, and directive force, with whose coöperation the action took place. The instrumental-agent, in the last analysis, was a comitative agent, §§ 20, 21. The dative, on the other hand, developed the function of agency from its basic signification of personal interest; it is not merely the author, *Urheber*, of the action, but a partaker that is vitally interested in the outcome as one that may be of benefit or disadvan-

[1] Cf. Lauer's *Grammatik d. classischen Armenischen Sprache*, Wien, 1869, p. 86, and K. H. Gulian's *Elementary Modern Armenian Grammar*, 1902, p. 72.

tage to him. Consequently, the *dativus auctoris* is essentially a *dativus commodi vel incommodi*, § 16. The statement of H. C. v. d. Gabelentz[1] that in some of the non-Indo-European languages as well, notably in Manchu, Mongolian and Japanese, the relation of the *nomen agentis* with the passive can be symbolized by means of a dative form, throws an interesting light upon the similar evolution of the Indo-European dative.

(*c*) Indo-Iranian is the sole linguistic group that has preserved this simultaneous employment of the two cases. Both Sanskrit and Avestan attest an instrumental of agency not merely with a perfect passive participle, but with verbal adjectives and finite passive verbs as well, §§ 68, 71. Its combination with the last category cannot be declared * Indo-European, because the formation of passive verbs belongs to the period consequent upon the "dialectal scission," §§ 4, 5. The Indo-Iranian usage, however, demonstrates that the instrumental of the personal agent is the direct heir of an original sociative-comitative force. The various stages of its descent are clearly visible, since thru the comitant denoting military associations, conveyances etc. one can logically arrive at the instrumental of means, pure and simple. To the application of the latter there is no limitation: persons also can function as the means or instrument of the action. The instrumental-agent with finite passive verbs may thus have two immediate predecessors, §§ 64 *e*, 68 *e*. (α) the use of the instrumental of agency with the past participle, developed from the instrumental of personal means, as if 'per interpretem (inst.) dixit' > 'dictum per interpretem' > 'dictum ab interprete' (inst.) > 'dicitur ab interprete' (inst.); (β) the instrumental of means with finite passive verbs, as 'he praises with words' > 'thou art praised with words' > 'thou art praised by your friends.' Because of the late creation of passives, the process described under (α) must be held chronologically prior to the other.

(*d*) The dative-agent of Indo-Iranian derives its auctorial force purely thru its context; its grammatical form postulates only the concept of benefit or detriment to some participant in the action. This overwhelmingly personal nature of the dative-agents in the earlier stages of Sanskrit and Avestan is shown by the fact that these agents are predominatingly of the pronominal type;[2] the evidence, however, of both the *Rigveda* and the *Gāθās* is at hand to

[1] *Über das Passivum*, p. 541.

[2] Cf. Havers, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 10, 14, 44, 60.

prove that this personal agent was capable of attaching itself not only to the *I-E. past participle, but in turn to the verbals and finite passives as well — an evolution of the same sort as that which took place in Latin.

(*e*) Whilst Slavic offers the example of a language that has only an instrumental of agency and can demonstrate all the stages of its probable provenience, § 54, Latin restricts itself to the dative as the prepositionless logical subject. In the beginnings of the language this Latin dative, of a strongly pronominal character,[1] is found combined only with the past participle or its compounds and the verbals, denoting *for whom* the action is an accomplished fact, or *in whose interests* it must take place, § 46. Its combination with the participle must, of course, have preceded its use with the gerundive, because the latter is a specifically Italic formation. The agency idea, synonymous with that denoted by *ab* with the ablative, which develops after Cicero, and especially in the usage of the Augustan writers and attaches itself not only to pronouns and verbals, but to substantives and finite passive forms, is a Graecism in that the native tendency of the *dativus commodi* to rise to the rank of a pure *dativus auctoris*, devoid of all personal interest, was assisted by the homogeneous construction of the Greek, § 51.

(*f*) Greek and Germanic, the two syncretistic languages *par excellence*, present a complication in connection with what may be called the dative-instrumental of agency, *i.e.* a case-form which combines the two separate ideas represented by the Sanskrit instrumental and dative of agency. The existence of such a composite force, as distinct from the view formerly held of these 'datives' with verbals and passive verbs, must be postulated because of the fact that both the Greek and Germanic dative represent an agglomeration of syntactic uses, among them the function of the instrumental as well as that of the dative, § 73.

(*g*) The interpretation of all the Greek dative-agents as original datives in force cannot, in the last analysis, be called false, both because it harmonizes with the *Grundbegriff* of the dative and because the history of the *dativus auctoris* in Latin offers a tangible proof of a similar possibility in the other languages. In fact, the personal datives with the verbals -τός and -τέος lend themselves

[1] Cf. Havers, *op. cit.* p. 237, 188.

quite well to such an explanation, especially with -τέος, because the morphologically demonstrable similarity of that suffix with other verbal adjectives tends to bring its dative in line with the dative-agent of predicate infinitives in other Indo-European languages as well, §§ 84–87. But in the instance of finite passive verbs, at least, the partially instrumental force of the dative-agent must be insisted upon because of the ease with which the entire series of the transitional processes leading away from the dative-instrumental of association can be reproduced in earliest Greek, § 89. The argument in favor of a new interpretation of these datives is one of analogy and evolution. The instrumental of association is the *fons et origo* of all the functional types of the instrumental; the instrumental of subjective or personal means is one of its descendants in the same logical relation as is that of the objective or material means; in Sanskrit, Avestan and Slavic, being in a position to demonstrate the whole genealogical relation, we are permitted to acclaim the inst. of personal agency as the last and highest typed expression of the inst. of concomitation; there is no valid reason, therefore, why, in full possession of similar facts in Greek, from the inst. of association onward, not only to that of material means, but also to that highly personified stage which Brugmann calls an active potency (*Grdr.*² § 479, p. 527), we should upon the presentation of examples of personal agency, the logical fruition of all preceding developments, stamp their dative-agents as datives of personal interest, when it is well known that the so-called 'dative' in Greek represents an instrumental force in an equal measure to its own. Nor should it detract from the logical cogency of the processes in question that satisfactory explanation of these agents can be furnished upon a purely dival basis because, on the one hand, the linguistic consciousness of Old Greek could hardly have failed carefully to distinguish between the instrumental and the dival constituents of the various functions of those case-forms which after the syncretism of the two, § 26 ff., came to be called 'dative'; nor, on the other hand, could the dative of agency have so thoroly assumed the auctorial functions of the instrumental if, during the period prior to their amalgamation, it did not widen its basic signification from within on the analogy of the competing instrumental of agency, as in the instance of Latin *dat. auctoris*, § 51.

(*h*) In the Germanic dialects the general situation with respect to the dative-instrumental of agency is exactly the same. To our

modern *Sprachgefühl* every originally instrumental form is overshadowed by a dativa l connotation; it cannot be doubted, however, that tho one form served at the same time for several functional types, these types were well differentiated in the consciousness of the speaker.[1] And since Gothic, Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse both offer dative-agents that may not be classed under the traditional idea of personal interest and admit of the derivation of personal agents, thru the media of material means and personified agents, from an original sociative instrumental, §§ 122, 126, 145, it would seem but logical and perfectly in accord with analogous developments in related languages for the Germanic also to extend the instrumental of means to apply to persons as well. In the field of reconstructive philology this strong evidence of the possibility of such a construction must be regarded as tantamount to a proof of its actual existence. Moreover, if the argument — frequently underlying the interpretation of these 'datives' in decisive instances — that the Germanic past participle is in most cases an adjective (cf. § 115 for Gothic) be tenable, then we could not speak of a Germanic passive at all and the similar periphrasis of Avestan and Slavic, too, would mean the complete inability of these languages to express passive verbal relations. And yet we have in related tongues evidence of the bare participle, without the copula so essential in Germanic, combined with *instrumental forms in instrumental function* to denote the logical subject. So in Sanskrit *yaména dattáḥ*, Avestan *frazinte anašitå maēθanyå;* but especially in Slavic with the bulk of its passives expressed solely by the participle (cf. Miklosich, IV. 704; Vondrák, II. 349) we have not only locutions like *trъstъ vętromъ dvižema*, ὑπὸ ἀνέμου, Lk. 7, 24, but also *pravimъ dъvěma aggeloma*, 'qui a duobus angelis ducitur,' Sup. 124, 26, so reminiscent of ON. *vask þrimr verum vegin*, *Ghv.* 10, 2; *ne vidimъ nikymьže*, 'qui a nemine videtur'; *mnogymi ljudьmi čestenъ i slavenъ*, 'qui a multis hominibus colitur et celebratur,' — expressions which, under the present system of interpretation would, if paralleled in the Germanic by a *dative-inst.* of agency, be rendered as '*zwei Engeln geführt*,' '*niemandem sichtbar*,' and '*vielen geehrt und gefeiert*.' While the *Gesinnungsweise* of one language cannot simply be saddled upon another, and each must be conceived of as capable of its own uses and interpretations, attention must be drawn to this

[1] Cf. *Synkretismus*, p. 167.

fundamental similarity between the Slavic and Germanic passive expressions and to the danger of the too subjective application of that theory which would intensify the Germanic dative, regardless of its syncretistic bearings, by too much '*Innerlichkeit*' (cf. also *Synkretismus*, p. 237 f.) and would isolate it from the testimony of the related languages. Despite the negative or, at least, non-committal character of the criticisms thus far made in that regard, I would still fain hark back to Delbrück's opinion expressed away back in 1867 (*ALI.* p. 73), "Um die deutsche casuslehre durchsichtig zu machen, bedarf es vor allem einer vergleichung mit der litauischen und slavischen syntax."

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# VITA

Cassoviae natus sum, Superioris in oppido Hungariae, die undecimo mensis Februarii anno MDCCCLXXXVIII, patre Arminio Gruenn, matre Ioanna e gente Englaender. Primis litterarum elementis in ludo imbutus, Praemonstratensium Canonicorum gymnasium aliaque per annos sex frequentavi. Deinde, maturitatis testimonio nondum instructus, anno MCMIII in Americam septentrionalem emigravi receptusque a Collegio Urbis Novi Eboraci septem post annos Baccalaurei Artibus in liberalibus gradum cum honore sum assecutus. Socius ibidem ad linguam Latinam docendam factus, in Universitate quoque Columbiae in philologiae studium linguarumque antiquarum necnon Germanicarum per annos tres incubui. Anno MCMXI et ad gradum Magistri in Artibus sum provectus et Universitatis in philologia Germanica discipulus nominatus. Duobus post annis ad Universitatem Illinoisensem sum vocatus, ubi nunc lectiones Germanicas habeo.

Audivi inter alios vv. ill. W. H. Carpenter, Calvinum Thomas, A. F. J. Remy et R. Tombo in litteris linguisque Germanicis, N. G. McCrea et J. C. Egbert in litteris Latinis atque titulis, A. V. W. Jackson in Indo-Iranicis, J. L. Gerig in Celticis, deinde J. Schick Monacensem in rebus philologicis. Omnibus quibus praeceptoribus, nec minus illis, qui antea in gymnasio collegioque me consilio et auctoritate semper adiuverunt, — quorum in numero de me optime meriti Patricius Stuhlmann Praemonstratensis atque Carolus G. Herbermann Neo-Eboracensis hic mihi imprimis commemorandi videntur, — sincero animo gratias ago quam maximas. Thomas autem praecipue atque Remy, qui studia mea inde a principio insigni erga me benevolentia atque cura sunt moderati, pia grataque memoria me semper persecuturum esse polliceor.